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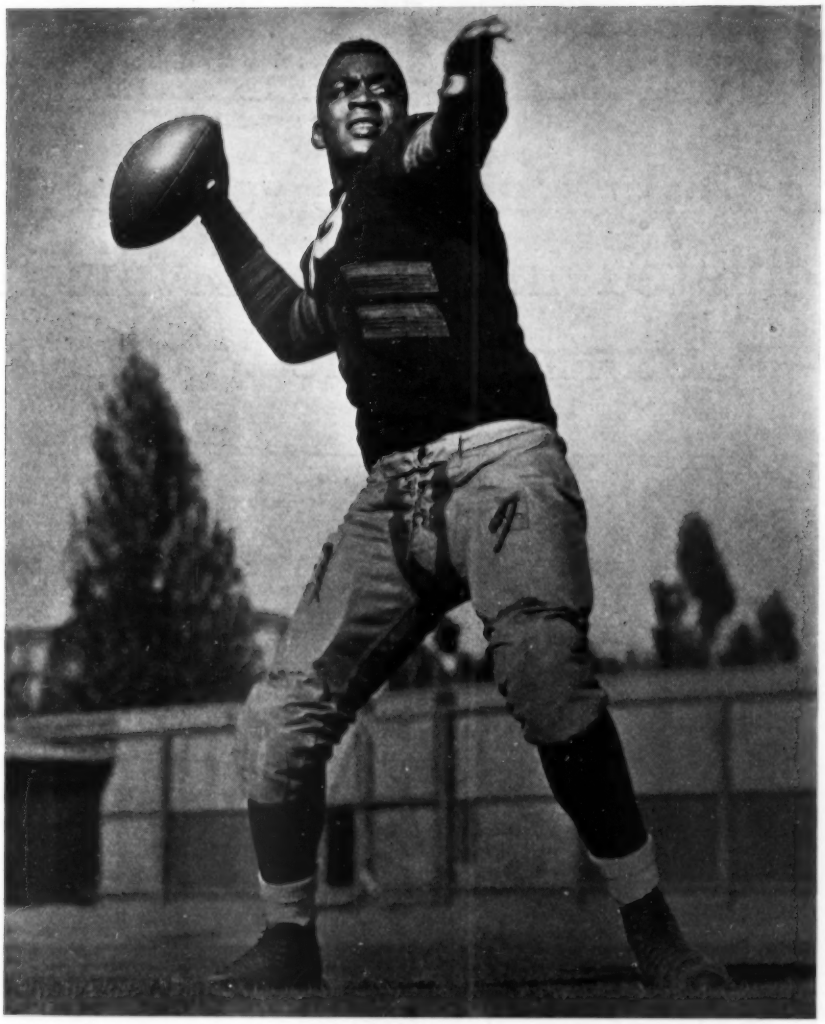

HALFBACK KENNY WASHINGTON

(Star for the University of California at Los Angeles—See page 357)

THE CHRISTMAS CANDLE

Octavia B. Wynbush

RETORT TO JINGO SNOBBERY

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Volume 44, No. 12 *Whole No. 324*

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Kenneth Stanley Washington, left half-back, University of California at Los Angeles

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THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910. *It is published monthly at* 69 *Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15c *a copy. Foreign subscriptions* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November* 2, 1910, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879, *and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

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THE COVER

Kenneth Stanley Washington, known popularly as Kenny, has been one of the star players on the University of California at Los Angeles football team. He was a star in baseball, track and football at Lincoln high school and now in his sophomore year has emerged as superior caliber in college football. He was born in Los Angeles and has two more years to play.

NEXT MONTH

THE CRISIS regrets that it was unable to carry photographs of children in this issue. They will appear in an early issue.

Next month there will be an article by J. H. Harmon, Jr., entitled "Negro Pioneers in Texas History."

There will be, also, a piece by Mollie Lewis dealing with the current activity in labor circles. There will be, also, a story "March Wind" by Edna Quinn; an estimate of the Second National Negro Congress by Arnold Johnson, and a comment on Negro education by Dr. Anna J. Cooper.

There will be, also, a resume on the N.A.A.C.P. fight against educational inequalities by Charles H. Houston.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Octavia B. Wynbush is a school teacher in Kansas City, Mo. She has written a number of stories for THE CRISIS.

William Pickens is the director of branches of the N.A.A.C.P. and a frequent contributor to the newspapers and magazines.

Elaine Ellis lives in Austin, Tex.

Louis Emanuel Martin is the managing editor of the *Michigan Chronicle* published at Detroit.

David H. Bradford is an associate professor of History and Government at Kentucky State Industrial College, Frankfort.

The Christmas Candle

By Octavia B. Wynbush

The window light on Christmas Eve guided a tiny lad—and two grown-ups—to happiness

THE tall red candle flickered thinly a moment, and, simultaneously with the unsteady match, died out. Linda Cavell lighted the third match and sighed.

How like her life, her hopes, her dreams! Everything which she had lighted for her happiness had flared, flickered an instant, and died out. Steadying her shaking fingers, she held the light once more to the candle. Once more a flicker, a flare, and then, a steady glow. The third time was the charm.

Stepping back from the window which formed a fitting frame for the light, Linda smiled bitterly, ironically. Lighting the candle—that was her last gesture before leaving this. She turned and surveyed the room in which she stood. Long, low-raftered and tastefully furnished and softly lighted, it was an ideal setting for the old-fashioned fireplace occupying nearly the entire side of the wall to her left. They had built the room for this fire-place, and the fireplace for the Christmas trees which were to be Ted's for a long, long time.

The flames from the log in the fireplace grew suddenly dim and distorted. Tears have a way of playing such tricks. This year there would be no Christmas tree.

"He was with us such a little while," whispered Linda, "just six tiny years. He was such a good child, too." She leaned against the fire-place weeping.

"Linda, why are you here?" The voice, slightly harsh in its concern and insistence, broke in upon her sorrow.

Turning her back to the hearth, she faced Theodore, standing there, in his overcoat, with his hat in his hand.

"Lighting the Christmas candle. Can't you see it? You know, it's supposed to bring us happiness."

Her own voice had a certain edge on it, now. Lately their voices had taken on that rasp when they addressed each other, an occurrence which was becoming noticeably less frequent.

Theodore came forward, and stood in front of his wife, looking down into her eyes. People were always attracted to Linda by her lovely eyes, but they had never seen them filled with the dislike and smothered anger which clouded them now.

Bracing himself for whatever might follow, Theodore spoke. "Linda, Darling, stop torturing yourself so needlessly, by remembering with such bitterness. Get your wraps and come with me to the Christmas Eve service. Afterwards we'll go to Mother's. It will be better."

The smouldering fires in Linda's eyes flashed into flame. Fury twisted her beautiful face into ugliness.

"Go, on this night of all nights—the anniversary of our last Christmas tree for—him? If you had a heart, if you loved him as you say you do, you wouldn't go yourself—you couldn't. You'd stay here with me, and—remember. You'd let your assistant take charge of the service tonight."

"Linda, must we go over all that again?" Cavell's voice was weary and broken.

"No! we needn't go over it again, or ever." Turning her back, Linda walked over to the window and gazed down on the candle.

"I lighted the candle tonight," she continued, "just as I did last year. I wanted to remember how pleased he was when he saw the light as he came back with you from the service. He said it made him happy."

As soon as she had spoken, she was penitent. Although her back was to Theodore, she could picture the grayness of his face, and the wince of pain. It was on that last Christmas Eve trip with his father to church that Ted had contracted the cold which had developed into pneumonia. She had spoken, however, so she might as well continue, thought Linda.

"Tonight you will stand there in the pulpit, talking about the Shepherds and the Wise Men and the Christ Child just as calmly as if nothing had happened in your own life. How you can do it, I don't know, unless it is as I said: You never loved him. If you did, you couldn't be so calm and self-contained all the time."

She heard him stoop slowly to pick up his hat which had dropped with a thud to the rug.

"You never loved him," she sobbed, and her tears caused the candle flame to waver unsteadily.

"Good night, my dear."

Linda made no answer to his farewell. She stood bowed above the candle, listening to him moving slowly to the door where he stood a moment fumbling with the knob, as if he were not quite certain as to where it was. Then the door swung quietly open, to be closed gently in an instant.

From her position at the window, Linda saw Theodore silhouetted in the oblong of light from the open front entrance as he stepped upon the porch. Then, as he closed the door, he became one with the blackness of the wintry evening.

Continuing to stare out into the darkness, Linda pictured the scene she knew so well.

Up here on the hill, the whistling wind sifted the snow from icy branches, piled it here and there, only to return and shift the piles to some other place. Up here were the homes of the few hundred prosperous residents of Castleton. On the hill, in every home but hers Christmas trees were being dressed and loaded with presents for starry-eyed youngsters and happy grown-ups.

Down below, in the valley now blotted out by the darkness, the snow lay more quietly, for the hill on one side, and the freight houses, sheds and various buildings of the train yards cut off the boisterous wind. Down there, were the huts and the shanties housing the poverty-stricken of Castleton. In the valley, the Christmas trees, if there were any, would be wretched little affairs from the "five-and-ten."

"Money, or no money, Christmas trees, or no Christmas trees, every one down there is happier tonight than I." Her words were bitter with envy.

"Excuse me, Mrs. Cavell, but I've packed everything you asked me to."

Linda turned to smile at the soft-spoken maid who stood in the door.

"Thank you, Jean, thank you." Linda moved through the door held respectfully open by the girl.

"Did you mean to leave the candle burning, Mrs. Cavell?" Jean made a movement as if to cross the room to the window. She stopped, jerked up by the sardonic laughter which floated back to her as Linda paused, already at the top of the stairs.

"Yes, let it burn. It will be a light for Mr. Cavell when he returns from his service. It may bring him happiness. By the way, Jean, be sure to look on the dining room table for your pack-

age before you leave. Merry Christmas, and many of them."

"Thank you, Mrs. Cavell, same to you," called Jean, in a voice dutifully grateful.

Her hand on the door knob she looked around the cozy, soft-lighted room. Tears came to her eyes as she, too, remembered the Christmas Eve of a year ago. Then, a wrathful fire in her eyes, she began muttering to herself.

"It's not fair, the way she's treating him, and his heart about to break. She thinks she's heartbroken for Ted, but it's just for herself she's sorry." Jean shook the door knob as if it had contradicted her.

"He blames himself somehow for Teddy's taking cold that night. And now he's about to die from the way she's acting."

Walking over to the window, she stared out into the night, down toward the valley, where people had a right to be heartbroken and sorrowful.

"Funny how some folks think servants don't have sense," mused Jean. "She's leaving him flat, never to come back, or my name's not what it is. She's not fooling me about any surprise visit he's planned for her to her folks. She don't any more intend to come back here after Christmas than I intend jumping down this hill into the valley. I'm sure glad I won't be here tomorrow to see Mr. Cavell's face. Christmas Eve, of all times!"

Moving from the window, she crossed the room, and pausing on the threshold, to switch off the electric light, passed out, closing the door behind her. The candle flame, fanned by the slight breeze from the closing door, wavered, flickered, and then burned steadily into the darkness.

Upstairs in her bedroom, Linda's nervous fingers retarded her change into street clothes.

"I can't help it," she gasped. "I can't stand another day of this. And tomorrow, I'd die here. We've had enough of each other, for a while, anyway. That Jean," she continued, unbuttoning her fur coat in order to put the second button into the second button hole, "I know she's seen through me. But what of it? She's just a servant."

She shivered as she wondered what Theodore would do when he found her note tucked under his pillow. How would he look? What would he say? Would he think her cowardly, especially at Christmas time? Well—The rest of her thoughts went into a contemptuous shrug. She looked at her watch. Time the taxi was here. Then the doorbell rang.

DOWN in the valley, in a two-room shack at the bottom of a crazily twisting lane close to the railroad tracks, Jonathan crouched shivering by a cracked, black, icy stove. Biting his thin drawn lips and blinking his eyes to keep back the "sissy" tears, he wrapped himself tighter in the rag rug which he had drawn over his thin shoulders. Despite the rug, however, the wind, nosing in through the jagged pane in the window opposite the stove, sank its sharp fangs into Jonathan's quivering flesh.

If Mumsy would only wake up! Jonathan cast his eyes toward the doorway into the other room. There, in the rags and tatters of what had once been somebody's bed-clothes, his mother lay, so very still since yesterday afternoon. Jonathan shivered. He was cold, but, when he had crept in to see Mumsy, she was even colder.

Of course he was glad she didn't moan and groan any more, but the stillness of her made him feel so queer. All day he had waited for her to wake; all day he had hoped some one might knock on the door of his house, although it was a long way from the few houses in the lane. As long as the coal and the sticks of wood had held out, he had kept the fire going, hoping the warmth would make Mumsy's hands less cold.

A small pile of coal and a few sticks of wood did not last very long in the cold December weather. Since noon there had been no spark in the stove. With the coming of evening, the cold had grown worse, until now, as the grayness blended slowly with the black of night, every inch of the two rooms was filled with the cold.

Suddenly Jonathan stood up. He must go and ask some one to come and help Mumsy get warm. All day he had waited, hoping, but now, he must act. Dropping the rug, he rose from his crouching position beside the cold stove, shook loose the few threads adhering to his coat from the rug, and crossed the creaking bare floor to a peg beside the outer door. There, within easy reach of his six-year old hands, hung his overcoat and worn cap with the mufflers.

With cold-stiffened fingers he pulled on the cap and buttoned the overcoat. There were no overshoes or mittens. Mumsy had promised them to him for Christmas, so he could go back to school after the holidays.

The sharp blast of air which met him as he opened the outer door, almost drove him off his balance. Slowly he slipped outside, straining with all his might to pull the door shut behind him. Succeeding at last, he crept down the icy steps, and slipped and slid along the snowy track that led through the tiny yard to the lane.

He would stop at Mrs. Farr's house. She had been in to see Mumsy yesterday morning. The Farr home was so distant from Jonathan's yard that, by the time he had fought through the snow drifts, he was quite breathless. Successive knocks on the door brought no response except from the echoes within. Had Jonathan but known it, Mrs. Farr and her "young uns" had gone that morning to spend the Christmas with her aunt in a neighboring town.

Frightened by the darkness and silence surrounding him, Jonathan scrambled from the porch and fled through the gate to the lane black now from the shadow of the hill, which rose almost perpendicularly above it. At the gate he paused. Unable to see in the darkness, he turned his eyes in the direction of his own home where, closed in by shadows, Mumsy lay.

For a while he clung to the gate, faltering between a desire to run back to his home, and a desire to go farther up the lane, to where the street intersected it. There, at the intersection, was a light, sending a yellow murkiness into the gloom.

Hugging himself closer in his overcoat, he turned toward the street light. Under the lamp, he paused once more. Now where should he look for help? Then he remembered. The lady with the kind eyes—he would go to her. He had been to her home twice with Mumsy, when she went to wash there, and last Christmas Eve, he had gone there with Mumsy after dusk. They had known the house because it was the only one on that street that had a real candle burning in the window. The others had electric wreaths and candles. That lady would help Mumsy. Her eyes were too kind to say no.

Head bent against the wind which grew sharper and stronger as he climbed the long, steep street, Jonathan felt strangely happy. He knew he would find help, now. The snow feathered inside his shoes, and seeped through their thin soles. Many times he stopped, back to the wind, in the shelter of a lamp post, to get his breath. Reaching the top of the sharp ascent at last, he turned to look down over the way he had come.

Then he turned, triumphantly, to search out, in the night, the house where the candle had burned in the window. Clinging to ice-coated iron railings which shut in each lawn with its bushes and trees rising like sheeted ghosts in the glow of electrically lighted fir trees and window wreaths, he searched eagerly, as he moved up the street.

Another fear seized him. Suppose the lady had put up an electric wreath, herself. Then, how would he know the house? It was too dark, and the house was too far back from the street to know it in any other way. Again he fought back the tears. He'd keep on, any way.

There it was! He was standing even now before the gate, and there in the

(*Continued on page 378*)

Retort to Jingo Snobbery

By William Pickens

The Nation recently carried an article by Benjamin Stolberg entitled "Minority Jingo" which was supposed to be a review of Benjamin Brawley's new book, "Negro Builders and Heroes." In his review, Mr. Stolberg took occasion to lay about him on what he terms the chauvinism of minorities, but particularly of the Negro minority. Dean Pickens, who here takes exception to many of Mr. Stolberg's assertions, first submitted the reply to The Nation, which returned the manuscript with the notation that it was "much too long."

IN the October 23 issue of *The Nation* Ben Stolberg unintentionally makes his own attitude the best example of the chauvinism which he assails in "minorities", his being the far more dangerous jingoism of the so-called white race, to which he societally belongs. Every experienced student knows that history books are racial and national propaganda, and that therefore school histories are the propaganda of the controlling race.

What Stolberg calls the "jingoism" of certain Negro writers (Benjamin Brawley, Carter G. Woodson, et al) is but the defensive reaction of the minority to the less excusable chauvinism of the majority. The same is true of Jewish writers and historians in their reaction to gentile arrogance. History is too largely composed of racialistic and nationalistic "lies agreed upon", and in Germany they are this minute rewriting their history books because they feel the need of bigger and better lies than they have ever told in the past. But we confine ourselves here to Mr. Stolberg's intemperate attacks on Negro writers, thinkers and achievers.

White and black have been in the original territory of the United States for practically the same length of time: the whites for 330 years, the blacks for 318 years. But nobody who reads the histories written by the Stolberg majority, would ever suspect that simple fact.

The average Negro has a longer American line than the average white person, in fact, the black group is the oldest American next to the American Indian: of the 15,000,000 Americans who have more or less of Negro blood (and *know* it), their African ancestry came to America before the Civil War, the last shipload of black "immigrants" having landed at Mobile on the eve of that struggle. Practically all American Negroes therefore came here back of 70 years ago; while the great majority of white Americans have come here, in one ancestor or another, since the Negro stopped coming. Just before the World War the whites were coming a million and a half a year. But from school histories no one would suspect that Negroes are not un-American aliens.

Suppressed History

When the little Stolbergs were in high school, how many of them learned that George Washington had about 5,000 Negro troops at Yorktown; that at Valley Forge some of the feet were not only bare and bloody but also black; that the Negro American was simply a part of the people, bearing his full share of its pains and burdens, but unrecognized in the record; that black women ought to be invited to join the D.A.R.; that Negro soldiery was an indispensable part of the national defense in 1812-14; that in the Civil War about 200,000 Negro soldiers were necessary to the salvation of the union, according to Abraham Lincoln, who should have known.

Neither the little white Stolbergs nor the little black Kelly Millers got any such intimations from the books forced into the schools by a chauvinistic majority. No wonder that the Kelly Millers, grown up, give a great shout when they discover these suppressed facts, while the grown-up Stolbergs, suckled throughout childhood on racial ignorance and egotism, are startled almost into anger when they find their subconscious "superiority" complexes challenged by the Brawleys, et al. But he will not give in, no sir: in this article Stolberg discovers and brilliantly discloses what every intelligent Negro has known for a quarter-century: that Booker Washington and Burghardt DuBois both wanted *the same thing*, and only differed in their technique for getting it.

Now let us take up some of Stolberg's mighty sneers, one by one, and take a frank look at them. He is terribly hard on Crispus Attucks, to whom Boston has built a bronze monument, not because he wanted to be the first to die for his country, but because he was so. This black man was no more anxious to die that day than were the white fellows with whom he went out to help meddle the British soldiers. Like all patriots in similar circumstances, he went forth to kill, if need be, for his country, but dying was not of his wish. All of them hoped to have a fight and go back home and brag about it.

But in the so-called "Boston Massacre" of 1775 Crispus Attucks was killed. Stolberg sneers that his whole "heroism consisted in running out of a saloon into a British bullet." Like the other majority chauvinists, Stolberg would give the false impression that this Negro had nothing to do with the fight. He might read a newspaper published in Boston the day after the "Massacre" and to be found now in the New York library. None of that little American mob was a "hero" when it went out: their country won the war 9 years later and made them its heroes. All of them, including the British soldiers had gone into the saloons to brace up with a little "licker". It was an accident, of course; most history is made up of accidents, but the *fact* is the history.

Phyllis Wheatley

It is a bit embarrassing for American white people, the world's greatest oppressors of black folk, to face the anomalous fact that a black man gave the first life in the fight for their "independence". But Providence is a great Humorist, even if much of his humor is wasted on the stolid Stolbergs.

Let us recall a few other incidents over which Providence must have laughed loud; not only was the first "American martyr" to independence black, but the first volume of poetry to be published by an American was written by Phyllis Wheatley, whose works are still in print. She was a native African imported by the slavers when she was 7 years of age. Perhaps Stolberg's school has taught him as much about this first American poet as it had taught a certain Philadelphia politician; when a square in the Negro section was to be named, although a colored preacher and his followers insisted upon naming it "Phyllis Wheatley Square", this politician had wanted to name it for a white political leader, and complained bitterly: "I wanted that square named for Mr. X, who was a good friend of colored people, and

now your colored pastor has gone and had it named after some lady friend of his!"

In the battle of Bunker Hill it was black Peter Salem who killed Major Pitcairn of the British forces, whose death helped the American patriots. Providence certainly laughed when Commodore Perry tried to imitate Julius Caesar (veni, vidi, vici): "We have met the enemy and they are ours", for a tenth of Perry's force was black. The British in 1814 had burned Washington and were pressing up the Chesapeake to burn Baltimore. Several hundred slaves and free blacks helped to handle the cannon of Fort McHenry and Baltimore was saved,—while white Francis Scott Key sat captive in a British ship, watched the fight and wrote verses about it. When the World War broke out, we sent over some of our Negro militia regiments and brigaded them with the French where the slaughter was great, expecting the Negroes to be killed quickly, but Providence had the fun of his Eternal Life when two of those Negroes became the first superheroes of the A. E. F., winning the Croix de Guerre. You see, the French generals did not have any better sense than to give the black Americans credit for everything they did.

Mme. Walker Beat the Whites

It seems that Brawley committed the unpardonable sin of giving insufficient praise or no mention at all to some of the black radical friends of Stolberg; just as Stolberg would have done to Brawley's black bourgeois friends, if Stolberg had been writing the book.

He fairly hates the little Negro business man for trying to head off a slight portion of the Negro consumer's money and prevent that all of it should run into the pockets of the white business man. Strangely, he spits upon the Negro in one sneering breath because a group of 13,000,000 black workers have among them "not one millionaire", and in the next breath he sneers at Mme. C. J. Walker because she "made a fortune from a hair-unkinking process". He does not mention (perhaps he never heard of) another black woman, Mrs. Maggie Walker, who greatly amused Providence by becoming the first woman bank president of any race in America, and in Richmond, Va., at that!

But to return to his queer and limited notions about the work and worth of the C. J. Walker Company: he thinks that the professional "race man" (whatever that is) should resent the fact that Mrs. Walker collected the price for unkinking other Negroes' hair, instead of letting white merchants do it, as an "anthropological insult", as if anthropology or biology had anything to do with it. In a country where the white Stolbergs are continually slamming doors in the face of kinky hair, if a few Negroes want to take some of the kink out of their too-kinky hair, just as many white people want to put some curls into their too-straight hair, just why should they not meet the white people half way? Why should the anthropologist object? The sociologist might observe the fact, and, if he has brains enough, understand it.

Gave Workers Work

But here is what Mrs. Walker really did: she put more colored wage-earners to work at good pay in her one lifetime than Stolberg and all his colored radical friends will ever do in their combined life-times; all over the United States and in some foreign countries, they not only unkinked but cut each other's hair, pared each other's nails, and sold one another perfumes, lotions, soaps; they built, decorated and operated their shops, and learned salesmanship; and they gave the "Negro workers" about whom Mr. Stolberg theorizes, the chance to "work". In Indianapolis alone she built a great office building and factory, where black people could make not only their own unkinking preparations but also their own soap, lotions and notions, all of which things they would otherwise have bought of white manufacturers, without ever having the chance to work at making or marketing them.

She built offices for Negro professionals, whom the chauvinist majority excluded from "white" premises; a theatre where blacks would not be segregated; eating places where they would not be thrown out, screened-off, or have glass or too much salt sprinkled over their food; and auditoriums in which even the Negro radicals could meet and talk as they pleased. She started in the capitalist world as a black washerwoman and managed to beat some of the white capitalists to some of the "takings" from the black population, to the great amusement of Providence and the great abomination of Ben Stolberg.

Perhaps she rendered as good service *in her way in her day* as any Negro economic radical rendered in his; she even made it possible for many Negro workers to get car fares enough to ride to the radical meetings and pay their dues. We have another idea, for which we confidently expect to be shot when some Ben Stolberg becomes "commissar of justice"; that the Henry Fords who deal with the materials of the world, may be as useful to their civilization as the Stolbergs, who deal in doctrines and words and good ideals, and sometimes poor logic.

Henson No Valet

One more of Stolberg's sneers, that about Matthew Henson, who went with Peary to the North Pole. When Stolberg accuses Negro writers of narrowness, we do not defend them; Negro historians are likely to be as narrow as the white. White Americans have arrogantly, and ignorantly or falsely left the Negro out of all honorable mention in their common history of 300 years, and now the Negro writer advances to the task with enthusiasm, with joy in discovery and (being no better than the whites) with some slight exaggerations.

When I meet classes in colleges that are discussing "the economic interpretation", "the cultural" and other interpretations of history, I tell them: "The best way to interpret a book of history is to find out (1) the chap who wrote it (2) the crowd he belonged to—and when you get that far, you are half way through with it."

Matthew Henson, who is now the only living human who has ever gone to the North Pole over the difficult way of the icy wastes, is sneered at by Stolberg as having been "a sort of Arctic valet to Admiral Perry" (meaning Peary). Three human beings went to the pole on that adventure: Peary, his most trusted aid, Henson, and an Eskimo. Peary did not take Henson as a "valet" in the Arctic; he would need no brush-offs or shines and could never take a bath in those parts. He took him as the best aid of all the men on the ship to help the leader to succeed on that perilous trip. This Peary admitted himself. Stolberg does not seem to realize the utter vanity, inanity and nothingness of Mississippi "social relations" in an adventure like that. Doubtless if Peary had had a white man on whom he felt that he could depend as well as he could depend on Henson, the white man would have been taken. But white people had been writing books and making speeches on the Negroe's inability to stand extreme cold, so Providence saw a chance for another big laugh. Why does an economic radical like Stolberg, who affects stark realism, allow mere words to mislead him: "valet", "servant", "waiter", "boy", "George", "you there"!—these are mere *words,* empty of content when a white man and a black man face a polar blizzard or a polar bear. Besides, Peary regarded Henson as a friend; and the black man was called a "servant" by the American navy, which does not allow a Negro citizen in the service under any other designation.

But Stolberg's attitude is exactly that of the American government, which has never recognized Henson's achievement. They made Peary a high officer of the

(*Continued on page* 381)

Our Delinquent Children

By Elaine Ellis

The cold statistics on juvenile delinquency do not give the complete picture of the situation. The author analyzes the conditions under which Negro and other underprivileged children live and exposes the causes of delinquency

JUVENILE delinquency among Negro children has increased in recent years. A report issued by the U. S. Children's Bureau for the year ending December 31, 1934, revealed that while the rate among white children decreased, it was "significantly" higher for Negro children. Later figures are not yet available.

White prejudice has given the impression, since the emancipation proclamation, that the Negro is a born criminal. This prevailing attitude helps to keep his race in miserable subjection. In proportion to their population, the delinquency rate among Negro children is shown to be four or five times that of white children. But the factors producing such a rate are to be found in the poorer economic conditions of the Negro child and in the discrimination that operates against him.

All children, Negro and white, have the fundamental need of security and development. They must have such physical necessities as food and shelter. Likewise, they must have sympathy and understanding, guidance and encouragement. Theirs is the need to experience, to achieve, and to gain recognition. When these desires are thwarted, delinquency may be the result. That society takes little recognition of these basic needs is seen in the fact that each year 200,000 children, by a conservative estimate, come before our courts.

Because so many elements enter into the make-up of the child, juvenile delinquency cannot be said to arise from any single source. Theoretically, it is an outgrowth of the social structure. Whatever processes determine the reasons for it, the profit system, which denies the larger portion of our population a sufficient living standard, is seen to play an important part in producing delinquency. Studies indicate that most of these delinquents come from homes where there is no economic security. Many are children from slums and poor neighborhoods, where illiteracy and disease flourish. Often their mothers work outside of the home while the children are left without supervision. The delinquent himself may be a helpless victim of child labor. Many of these children need medical attention.

Homes Less Stable

Acute as the situation may be for the white child, it is doubly so for the Negro child. As a result of slavery, he comes from a home that has far less stability than that of the white child. Because of his lower living standard, his is the greater burden of ignorance and disease. Moreover, the Negro mother, more often than the white mother, must work outside of her home. For three dollars a week and the cast-off clothing of some white family, she is often forced to relinquish the supervision and guidance of her children.

However, though economic insecurity apparently exists in the majority of families from which these delinquents come, it cannot be said that juvenile delinquency is confined to a class. The Children's Bureau, in one report,[1] stated: "It is doubtless true that many children of the well-to-do are saved from coming before the courts because their families have greater resources and are often able to obtain special care for their children whereas the children of the poor are more likely to be referred to courts or committed to institutions when they develop serious behavior problems."

An inadequate school program, especially in the cases of children who come from poor home environments, is undoubtedly responsible for a large part of delinquency. Probably its major contribution is the vicious discrimination that it practices against the Negro child, for he is barely tolerated in his right to receive an education. In the South, he is forced to attend schools separate from those of white children. This necessitates additional school expense, but the appropriations for Negro schools are usually many times less than that for white schools. Only too often, Negro schools are wretched buildings with entirely inadequate equipment and terms that may last for only a few months each. To overcome this handicap, the Rosenwald Fund and other sources have done much toward establishing good schools for Negro children.

[1] Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor: *Facts About Juvenile Delinquency*, p. 4. Publication No. 215. Washington, 1935.

Poor facilities and short terms also exist in many white rural schools, and the situation is probably worse in the South. The industrial system demands the labor of both white and Negro children in the cotton fields.

Influences in Mixed Schools

In the mixed schools, outside of the South, the Negro child is confronted with a situation almost as bad. From the first, either by implication or word, he is taught that he comes from an inferior race. The school maintains no contact with his home life. Nothing is expected of him, and he may gradually grow to expect nothing of himself. He also realizes that whatever his ambition, limits will be set upon his vocation if he should achieve an education despite the obstacles in his way. Children have even met with physical cruelty in these schools. Some months ago, a white school principal in New York City brutally beat a frail Negro boy who committed the grave offense of calling at the school for his little sister.

The children of the poor are the unfortunates of a society which, having denied them, exacts punishment regardless of the misleading scientific names given to it. The courts are supposed to take the socialized approach—that of understanding the child and helping him to an adjustment. Some juvenile courts are doing commendable work in this respect. Unfortunately, most courts have no understanding of the problem. Authorities criticize them upon the grounds that the judges and personnel are chiefly untrained, and that many of them are put into office through politics.

Probation and parole facilities are also inadequate, and children are still retained in jails throughout the country, especially in the South. A report by the Board of Charities and Welfare in North Carolina recently revealed that during the first part of this year, 724 children under sixteen years of age were confined in jails in that state.

Considering the long record of imprisonments and whippings inflicted on children who have had the misfortune to be brought before courts in many counties in North Carolina, the surprising thing is the fact that the death penalty is not in effect.

Longer Sentences to Negroes

A study of Negro child welfare in that state by Wiley B. Sanders revealed

that from December 1918 to 1931, the proportion of Negro children in the state prison exceeded almost twice the proportion of Negro children in the population of the state.[2] Although there were no differences in the seriousness of the offenses for the two races, the Negro children received much longer sentences, he reported. He concluded that racial prejudice was apparently responsible.

During a ten-year period, from 1919 to 1929, he reported, corporal punishment was in effect for white children in seven counties and Negro children in 22 counties. Of 159 children tabulated who had received this form of "justice," 25 were white and 134 were Negro, including one white girl and 14 Negro girls. An attorney general who ruled against corporal punishment in 1921 denounced the whipping of Negro boys as "the grossest kind of racial discrimination," Sanders said. He further showed that in 1932, a court ordered that three Negro boys be publicly whipped for housebreaking.

But the record for long detention and cruelty to juveniles undoubtedly belongs to Alabama, whose Department of Public Welfare recently announced that much will be done for Negro and white children of that state under the social security act. The three youngest Scottsboro boys were only children at the time of their arrest and "frame-up." Roy Wright, the youngest, was 13, Olen Montgomery was 15, and Willie Roberson was 17. The latter was so sick that he had to be carried to jail, and his present ill health is scarcely a tribute to prison physicians. For six years, these three children, who should have been in school and living the happy lives to which all children are entitled, were subjected to the brutality of the prison system before they were released.

Everywhere in the South, Negro boys face the insanity of lynch mobs. Three years ago, two Negro boys, Ernest Collins, 15, and Benny Mitchell, 16, were lynched in Texas. A white girl was found dead, and the two children were held responsible because someone said that they had been seen gathering pecans near the place where the girl's body was found. It was for this that they paid with their lives.

Most reformatories to which children are sent are only prisons where they have no chance of developing a normal life. In general, they are overcrowded, have too rigid rules, and offer only a meagre educational program. The situation is even worse in the South. Investigations of the Gatesville (Texas) State Training School and the Pine Bluff (Arkansas) Industrial School for Boys exposed miserable conditions. While the Texas reformatory makes no attempt to prevent venereal infection among white delinquents, officials are strict in their separation of white and Negro children. Presumably, race tolerance is more to be feared than syphilis.

[2] Sanders, *Negro Child Welfare in North Carolina*. 1933, University of North Carolina Press.

Sterilization Movement Grows

While there are fewer reform institutions for Negro children, the number that already exist has added impetus to the sterilization movement in this country. That this so-called "eugenic" measure has already been used against helpless children in reformatories is proved in the recent expose that revealed the wholesale sterilization of young white girls in the Industrial School at Beloit, Kansas. These operations were apparently inflicted as punishment, according to Mrs. Kathryn O'Laughlin McCarthy, a former congresswoman, who brought the attention of the public to this outrage. In many cases, the operations were carried out despite the pleas of parents, she said. The State Board of Administration has announced that except under "extraordinary emergency," there will be no more such operations in this school, the Boys Industrial School at Topeka, and the reformatory at Hutchinson. An expose of this movement, with all of its Fascist threat to the working class and to the Negro race, was made by the author in this magazine last spring.

Fortunately, society is awakening to the realization that juvenile delinquency is not a biological, but a social problem. Despite the faults of the juvenile courts, they have served a purpose in helping to enlighten the public. Civic and religious organizations are also at work. And perhaps the most important movement in this country today to help counteract juvenile delinquency is the Coordinating Council movement by which organizations interested in child welfare are brought together on a community basis. Its scope is broad, and one of its most important functions is to cooperate with the courts.

However, until the actual causes of delinquency are treated, it cannot be eliminated. Its eradication requires more than a socialized procedure on the part of our institutions. The economic level of the people must be raised, and this will bring about a more stable cultural life. As a result, there will be less social disorder with all of its perplexing problems. But to accomplish this, we must change society itself.

Notice of Nominations

The Committee on Nominations nominates the following persons as National Officers and for membership on the Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P.:

President: Mr. J. E. Spingarn, New York

Chairman of the Board: Dr. Louis T. Wright, New York

Treasurer: Miss Mary White Ovington, New York

Vice Presidents:

Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, Washington
Mr. Godfrey L. Cabot, Boston, Mass.
Hon. Arthur Capper, Topeka, Kansas
Mr. Clarence Darrow, Chicago
Bishop John A. Gregg, Kansas City, Kansas
The Reverend John Haynes Holmes, New York
Hon. Manley O. Hudson, Cambridge, Mass.
Mr. James Weldon Johnson, Nashville, Tenn.
Rev. A. Clayton Powell, New York
Mr. Arthur B. Spingarn, New York
Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, New York

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

(Terms Expiring December 31, 1940)

Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, New York
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Sidney R. Redmond, St. Louis
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Dr. E. W. Taggart, Birmingham, Alabama *(Term expires December 31, 1938)*
Hon. Charles E. Toney, New York
William Allen White, Emporia, Kansas
Frances Williams, New York
Dr. Louis T. Wright, New York

These nominations will be voted on at the annual business meeting of the association to be held Monday, January 3, 1938.

Committee on Nominations:

Lillian A. Alexander
Irwin T. Dorch
James Weldon Johnson
William T. McKnight
Arthur B. Spingarn
Forrester B. Washington
Louis T. Wright

Official Notice of Business Meeting

The annual business meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will be held on Monday, January 3, 1938, at 2 p.m. at the offices of the association, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

At this meeting will be submitted reports of officers. Nominations for membership on the board of directors will be voted upon.

The Big Stick in Detroit

By Louis Emanuel Martin

AS good Americans, most of us are familiar with the elementary truism that "Money Talks" and as poor Americans also, most of us have had occasion to add regrettably, "And How!" In Detroit, however, money has not only been heard to talk, but to scream and shriek and, quoting the none too delicate Mid-Westerner, to raise all manner of hell. In the recent Motor City mayoralty election money acquired its prized human attribute and went to the polls and cast its ballot.

As the automobile capital of the world, Detroit is first and last an industrial city and its citizens are clearly divided into the two great economic groups, the bosses and the bossed. Negroes, of course, are on only one side of the fence, the bossed. To such a city so-called "labor unrest" is a disease and when it is permitted to run its course the results are amazingly akin to paralysis. Not long ago labor became afflicted, as it periodically does. The workers attempted a cure and begun organizing under the C.I.O. What has happened since is now a matter of common knowledge.

Workers in Detroit, and Negro workers particularly, have had to buck rent-gouging landlords, rising food prices, poor working conditions, speed-up production methods, arbitrary lay-offs, low wages and last, but highly important, the sugar-coated propaganda of their profit-mad employers. The attempt of the unskilled workers to organize was met with scathing ridicule from the metropolitan press, public condemnation from reactionary city officials, and swinging clubs from a hostile police department. In brief, the over exploited worker who resisted his exploitation became a criminal in the eyes of many and his way, like the way of the transgressor was made hard. But they organized.

It was only natural that organized labor looked forward to the mayoralty election in Detroit as an opportunity to remove a few of the obstacles from its path. The political aspirations of the workers soon became the laughing stock of the town. When the C.I.O. placed their candidate for Mayor, Patrick O'Brien, a Democrat, in the field along with five candidates for the City's Common Council, only a few of the professional politicians became alarmed. Why should they? Labor was divided, the

In the clear-cut campaign for mayor in Detroit, November 2, between labor and the financial and industrial interests, Negro voters, who were promised absolutely nothing by the winning anti-labor candidate, nevertheless gave him many votes. However, some thousands of Negro workers aided the labor ticket and the labor vote, though on the losing end this year, gives promise of winning in the future

A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. were at war, many of the unskilled workers were foreigners and could not vote, the middle class was not in sympathy with the C.I.O. and their sit-down tactics, and perhaps the labor leaders could be bought off.

Primary Results Startle

However, when the votes were counted in the primary everyone of the labor candidates won his nomination. The victory was so stunning and the C.I.O. majorities were so impressive that the very windows of the City Hall began to rattle. The next day Big Business began to mobilize. Richard W. Reading, veteran city clerk and a former $100,000 a year real estate broker, was O'Brien's opponent for the mayoralty seat. Over night he was touted as the guardian angel of Detroit.

Reading's record is as colorless as his personality. During his seventeen years in the city government he earned the reputation of being a pet of the silk-stocking class. A few months before the campaign he gave his first job to a Negro. Besides, court testimony revealed that he was a former member of the Spend Your Money with American's club which finally became an affiliate of the Ku Klux Klan. As a candidate for mayor, he refused to take a stand on any civic issues. He would not promise Negroes any consideration because he said that he wanted to take office unhampered by promises to any group. Thus, this Dick Reading was given a capitalistic mount and he rode off to the election wars with all the trappings of a Sir Galahad. By comparison, Pat O'Brien may be said to have ridden to the fray on a jackass. Dick Reading simply smothered him in the election.

Let us see how it happened. In the first place, Big Business owns and controls the three metropolitan dailies in Detroit which altogether have a circulation of nearly a million. Secondly, Big Business owns and controls the air waves. Finally, Big Business had the money to pay off professional campaign workers. John L. Lewis declared that the C.I.O. slate lost in Detroit because of the opposition of "massed wealth;" he never uttered a truer statement.

The newspapers dug up their boldest type and blasted the C.I.O. from top to bottom. John L. Lewis was compared to Hitler, Homer Martin became an erratic fool, Pat O'Brien was pictured as a doddering nit-wit, and all of the workers behind them were depicted as poor, ignorant rats who were being led to the river by the false tunes of a Pied Piper. The readers were led to assume that if the labor slate won, General Motors, Henry Ford and other auto magnates would close down their factories and usher in a period of starvation. Employees were instructed to vote for Reading or lose their jobs.

Red Scare Used

The red scare, which is still effective in many of our cities, was brought into the campaign and every other worker was called a Communist who was bent on undermining the government. The laborer was made ashamed of himself. Negroes were told that the union leaders were great liars and that their talk about "social justice for all" meant all of the white folks, but none of the Negroes. The labor slate included no Negro and only partial support was given the Negro candidate for councilman. The particular colored candidate felt that the C.I.O. should have supported him although he had done nothing to further the progress of organized labor beforehand.

Although the campaign issue was clearly the struggle between the workers and vested interests, the newspapers and other mediums of propaganda turned the issue around and declared that the "non-partisan" government of the city was at stake. Since the labor slate was partisan, it was averred, the "clean, undefiled, non-partisan character of the city government" was being threatened and the return of the old ward-heeler days of graft and corruption was just around the corner. Of

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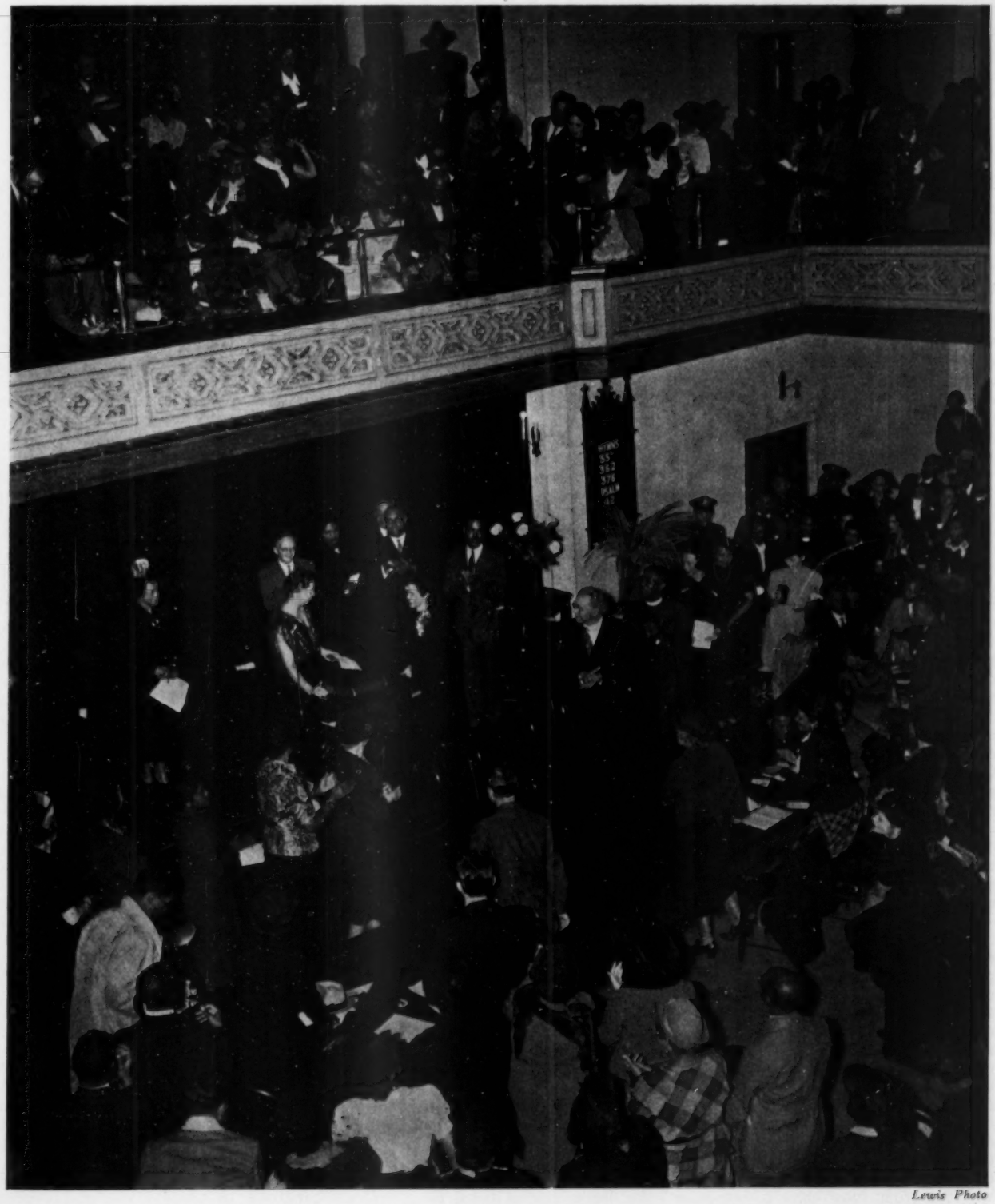

Lewis Photo

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT COMES TO HARLEM. On October 22 the First Lady spoke for the first time in Harlem at the Mother A.M.E. Zion Church under auspices of the New York Crisis Committee. A packed church of 3,500 persons heard her. On the platform, left to right, Miss Lucile Armistead, Chairman of the Committee; Mrs. Roosevelt; Walter White; Mrs. Eunice Hunton Carter; Bishop J. W. Brown (slightly hidden); Rev. George H. Sims; Miss Frances Williams, who presented Mrs. Roosevelt; Roy Wilkins

Harnessing Public Opinion

By David H. Bradford

IT will doubtlessly simplify my position, if, at the very beginning, I tell you that I am a democrat. One of the old-fashioned ones, who believes in government of the people, by the people, and for the people. These things I hold as articles of faith. But for this I offer no excuse. Indeed, it is in a spirit of faith, to a large extent, that this paper is written. However, it is not about democracy as a whole that I shall speak here; but rather about an institution to which it gave rise and which it made effective and which has now come to be considered as a phase of democracy itself. I refer to public opinion.

It is only in comparatively recent days as time goes that public opinion has evidenced its powerful influence on society. It is safe to say that before the French Revolution nothing of the kind was dreamed of in Europe; there was a certain truth in the assertion of Louis XIV that he was the state. For truly public opinion was his opinion.[1] Wherever democracy has been able to survive in the western world no one person has been able truthfully to make a statement comparable to that of the "Sun King." That this is the case is no doubt due in a large measure to the ever vigilant watch of public opinion. Certainly no statesman, politician, or group of people can well afford to ignore its powerful determinative influence in public affairs.

Suffice it to say here, leaving for later treatment all attempts at a definition of public opinion, that public opinion considered as a constructive force has been almost entirely disregarded and neglected by Negroes. A casual examination of the present status of the Negro will reveal that he is handicapped by an utterly insufficient and ineffective leadership, by half true and inarticulate philosophies and by inadequate laws and administrative machinery. These defects may be eradicated to a large degree by the creation of an opinion in the mind of the general public which will recognize the detrimental effects, upon society as a whole, of the Negro's present condition. Before anything of value can be accomplished in this direction we as a group must come to recognize the importance of having a sympathetic public opinion and must effect a considerable change in that opinion.

[1] Edwin L. Godkin, *Unforeseen Tendencies of Democracy*, p. 183.

The old question of "where are we going?" and, "how shall we get there?" are discussed here in a manner more calm and analytical than is usually the case

No Real Leadership

There seems to be little real appreciation of the potentialities of public opinion among persons who would be leaders of Negro thought. This lack of understanding is not the fault of the leader alone; the whole Negro group must stand accused. For when one comes down to cases, there is no real leadership among us. And here it is that one will find, I believe, one of the chief causes of our present status. Why is it that no person seems to be able to gain a sufficiently large following among Negroes to be called a leader? To answer this question will lead to a discussion of the nature of leadership itself and will reveal, I think, that the Negro has no leaders because he does not know where he wishes to be led.

Some words have as many meanings as there are people using them. Leadership is such a word; and as a result of the confusion that naturally arises from the various definitions given to it, many of them entirely false, Negro leaders often have been blamed for many shortcomings that were no fault of their own. It is necessary, therefore, that it be set forth clearly just what is meant here by leadership. True leadership emerges only when there is an embodiment in some individual of the social consciousness of the group.[2] The true leader is merely an aspect of the group; he does not create objectives for the group, but merely senses the desire of the group and endeavors to act in such a way as to effectuate the desired end. The leader must have an understanding of and a sympathy for the ideals and goals of those whom he seeks to lead. Now if the group itself has no definite ideals or no fixed goal, the leader is left on a dark and unchartered sea. If he is unable to find the way to port must he bear the blame alone? Surely the group is guilty to the degree that it failed to do its part in the erection of light-houses along the shore. To blame the leader alone then is unfair.

[2] C. H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Process*, Chap. IX.

If we accept this definition of leadership, it follows that it is probably too much to expect that any true leadership could possibly have emerged among us. Yet, leadership is indispensable to all collective action; for it is only through cooperative effort on the part of both the leader and the led that anything of value can be achieved. No man lives unto himself alone. From infancy to old age, from the cradle to the grave, he is influenced by other human beings. Unhappily all too often "Negro leadership is in the main selfish, ignorant, petty, snobbish," as one writer recently said.[3] Doubtless this is true in many cases, but let us be fair about him who would lead. He should not be made to bear all the blame for our iniquities. The truth of the matter is, the leader is one of the led and can improve only when the group improves.

Booker T. Washington's Skill

Since the group itself has no clearly marked goal or objective, that many roads to freedom would be proposed was to be expected. These have served merely to add to the confusion and chaos that has been apparent in our leadership since the days of Booker T. Washington. While there were many who violently disagreed with Washington, his philosophy embodied the universal desire of all men for economic security and certainly this explains in part his great appeal as a leader. Even those who opposed him knew that there was a certain truth in his plea for economic security. For all creative effort presupposes sufficient wealth to afford the necessary leisure in which to create. Besides advocating a philosophy whose universality made it possible for the group to understand, appreciate, and support it, Washington was significant as a leader in another respect. He had the good sense to realize that to bring his philosophy into practice it would be necessary to have the support of the general public and he therefore, the good salesman that he was, talked in the language of those whom he wished to convince.

Whether or not we agree with Washington's philosophy, we must concede to him the skill of the master in the manipulation of the public mind. And here it is that our other leaders fail;

[3] George S. Schuyler, "Views and Reviews" in *The Pittsburgh Courier*, August 21, 1937.

they have their "plans," to borrow a current term, but no one of them seems to have the requisite salesmanship to secure sufficient support among the masses of Negroes or to convince the general public of the value of the philosophy in question. Thus, after many solutions to ameliorate our conditions have been proposed, our cards are as disarranged as ever.

Though none of these "plans" work there is an assumption on our part that if only some one could find a cure for our diseases we would see at once that it was the cure and apply it. We seek for leadership and for leaders. In a democracy the leader is he who expresses existing convictions in the most interesting and vivid way and who possesses "the common mind to an uncommon degree."[4] In the formation of public opinion each individual takes a part—some more, some less. If left to itself public opinion may grow by the process of trial and error; something like a habit or folk-way finally becoming established. But we must no longer leave it to itself; we must give it direction into predetermined ways. We are condemned to win our salvation by the sweat of our own brow.

Must Determine Course

I have no "plan" of salvation and, indeed, I believe, any plan designed by any individual working alone is doomed to failure. There must come from the group working together some common desire, objective, or goal towards which we must all work. And our efforts must be consciously directed at our goal for no victory is ever won by sudden inspiration but only as the result of forethought and painstaking labor. Once we know *what* we want and *where* we wish to go, we may employ the usual techniques employed to build the morale necessary to accomplish the desired ends. Even the state uses psychological methods to win friends and confound its enemies.[5] Surely then the Negro as a group will do well to do the same.

But what are these techniques? How is morale made? Three generally acknowledged techniques by which morale is made may be pointed out here.[6] First morale is made as the result of certain mechanical activities. Soldiers constantly faced with danger become accustomed to it and seem almost to enjoy being in dangerous situations. Habits are formed that seem to build a mechanism which shuts out fear of danger. Then again, morale is built by the use of certain hynoidal objects, such as drums, bugles, and flags. Anything that can be used as a symbol around which men can rally in an effort at uniformity may be classed as hynoidal. During the World War when the word went down the line that "They shall not pass!" every soldier's determination to stop the march of the enemy was renewed. Morale may be built also by the use of logic and reason. Here the aim must be to fill every individual with a sense of loyalty and devotion to something greater than himself.

These three techniques, once the Negro determines what he wants, may be used to solidify the group and build a purposeful consciousness of kind. Mere good will of itself, however indispensable, will not be enough. Hard intelligent work is what will be needed to bring these efforts to a successful conclusion. The task of creating a common goal for all Negroes and the building of the proper morale to sustain the efforts necessary for the achievement of that goal will by no means be an easy one.

In this effort we must use those methods and techniques that have been successfully employed by other minority groups for there are many problems that are common to all people similarly circumstanced in different parts of the world. We must realize that merely because one is a Negro he does not necessarily feel an allegiance to all things Negroid, for it is not race that is determinative of group-consciousness. A purposeful group-consciousness is mental and arises out of common joys and sorrows. We must create something around which we may all rally and of which we may all be proud and to which we may all be devoted. Once this is done and there emerges among us a leadership which embodies the desires of the group, there will remain only the necessity of selling our new found desires or philosophy, if you will, to the general public. As we look then to the future, let us orient ourselves, let us clarify our aims and objectives, and let us hope that leaders will arise among us who are both articulate and wise enough to act as salesmen whose task it will be to inculcate into the public mind the necessity for the acceptance of our objectives.

Creating Public Opinion

This can be done by the creation of a public opinion that will be favorably inclined towards the improvement of the life of the Negro in the community. Since there are many among the dominant majority who have no love for the Negro as such, yet have a real affection for individual Negroes, this may be effected more easily than might at first appear. The opinions of all these persons with their individual loyalties and affections will go a long way to change public opinion. For the opinion of the ordinary man is by no means a negligible factor in human affairs, but determines what public policy will be and ultimately decides the nature of society itself.[7] To achieve any objective, then, that objective must be made the desire of the masses of the people. For after all, the opinion of many is only the opinion of one, being the opinion of each. This is what is usually called public opinion.

Many definitions of public opinion have been attempted but like most definitions many of them seem more to set limitations to thought than to clarify thinking. So that we may think along the same lines for a short time two of these definitions may be mentioned here. Giddings defines public opinion as "the judgment of a self-conscious community upon any subject of general interest."[8] Cooley explains it as an "aroused, mature, organic social judgment."[9] Certainly it is not solely the offspring of impulse; nor is it merely the reaction to habit or custom. But rather implies conscious departure from custom and tradition.[10] In its formation the public is aware that there is a question at issue and is conscious that it is making a decision upon the question. This may mean that old principles are applied to new conditions; that new group standards are formed; and that new rules of action must be developed to meet new social situations. In a word then, it may be said that public opinion is the judgment reached by society after conscious, rational discussion.

There are many who will quarrel with this definition, saying, "You can't change human nature" and that the public mind is stubborn and passive. Yet in the Middle Ages society was convinced that there were witches. People were so positive that they burned others whom they suspected of witchcraft. We no longer feel this way at all. There certainly must then be ways whereby and institutions through which public opinion may be modified. Whether one accepts Aristotle's belief in the divine wisdom of collective humanity or George Moore's notion that "Humanity is a pigsty, where liars, hypocrites, and the obscene in spirit congregate," the fact remains that public opinion does change.[11]

(*Continued on page* 370)

[4] Sir Norman Angell, *From Chaos to Control*, p. 5.
[5] Abram Lipsky, *Man the Puppet*, p. 17.
[6] Ibid, pp. 124-145.
[7] Sir Norman Angell, *The Unseen Assassins*, p. 4.
[8] *Principles of Sociology*, p. 138.
[9] *Social Organization*, p. 123.
[10] Clyde L. King, "Public Opinion in Government" in W. B. Graves, *Readings in Public Opinion*, p. XXIII.
[11] Peter Odegard, *The American Public Mind*, pp. VII-VIII.

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Editorials

More Than A Bill Against Lynching

FOR those who care to think about it, there is much more at stake in the effort to pass the Gavagan - Wagner - Van Nuys anti-lynching bill than the prevention of eight to twenty lynchings a year. The general public cannot permit mobs to take the law into their hands. Either we have a government of laws, or we have anarchy, as we do when groups, swayed by emotions peculiar to their communities, supplant the law and wreak private vengeance.

This is important to every citizen, whatever his color, but there is another aspect to the anti-lynching crusade of greatest importance to black citizens. The passage of this bill, if it does nothing else, will assist the Negro up another notch toward the status of a full citizen of the republic. It will serve notice that certain rights guaranteed to all citizens by the Constitution may not be trampled upon by lawless mobs, that the Federal government recognizes the victims as citizens and requires the states to use diligent efforts to see that the guaranties are preserved.

By this single act the government will be lending its majesty to the ultimate removal of the terrorism which has kept the Negro cowed. The threat of mob violence and the certain knowledge that neither the county, the state or the Federal government would do anything about it have kept colored people from asking for their rights and taking their proper place in the life of the nation.

Lynching hangs like a pall over the life of *every* Negro, no matter where he lives or how secure he is against actual lynching. As long as mobs may lynch his brothers freely in one section of the country, he and his are held in a certain contempt, or, worse, in a certain pity, by the rest of the population. By that population he is regarded as a species apart, one not quite (and truly so) on the same level of citizenship as those whom lynchers molest only on the rarest occasions. This is true regardless of how brilliant, or respectable, or successful, or wealthy, or righteous a Negro may be, or whether he lives in Mississippi or Montana.

A federal anti-lynching bill will remove some of this onus. It will give us a more solid footing from which we can attack the other obstacles in our path.

The Chickens Come Home to Roost

NOT very many years ago the colored citizens of Indianapolis listened to the persuasive arguments of the school segregationists, both white and black, and the result was the erection of the Attucks high school (for Negro children). Hardly had the new, $900,000 plant been opened when the Negro parents discovered to their dismay that some fifteen courses available to students in other high schools of the city were not to be offered at Attucks.

Now comes a suit against the board of education of Indianapolis, the superintendent of schools and others, seeking a writ of mandamus to compel the admission of a Negro student to Technical high school where a course in physiography is offered. The suit was filed by E. Louis Moore, chairman of the legal committee of the Indianapolis branch of the N.A.A.C.P., for the parents of the prospective student.

In discussing the suit editorially, the Indianapolis *Recorder* declares:

"With the filing of a suit against the school board, attention is focused again on the evils of a separate school system highly colored with wilful neglect."

The *Recorder* then recites that the Indiana school law permits separate schools in the discretion of school boards, but specifies the facilities and training must be equal. It contends that Negro children have been so neglected in the separate school system of the city that they cannot be said to be receiving equal treatment.

THE CRISIS cannot permit this wide-open invitation to say "we told you so" pass by, because the oftener the lesson is hammered home the better. The history of education in this country shows that separate schools for Negroes are *never* equal to those for whites. Always there develops "wilful neglect." According to our information there are only two city separate systems where the Negro schools *almost* equal the white, and those are in Washington, D. C. and St. Louis, Mo. The state of Kansas has its own peculiar system (as Kansas would) where Negro elementary schools are separate and all others mixed, except in the city of Kansas City, Kans. Under this system the Negro children in the elementary schools receive approximate—but not absolute—equality.

The moral is that colored folk in states which do not have mandatory separate public school systems either must resist segregated schools by every means in their power or become resigned to inferior education for their children. And this does not mean that Negro teachers and administrators are inferior, but simply that the whole system of administration is such that the children are denied their birthright.

There is no more important subject before Negroes in this country than proper and adequate education for their children in the public schools. This question ranks with the right to protection from mobs, the right to vote, and the right to employment. For this reason the spread of segregation must be fought, and in areas where laws enforce segregation, discrimination and inequalities in public education must be combatted with intelligence, vigor and persistence.

Ballot Power

THERE is only one reason why a federal anti-lynching bill is as far advanced in Congress as it is and that is the power of the ballot in the hands of Negro citizens in the North and West. These citizens hold within their hands and their discretion the destiny of their eight million brothers in the South who are, in the vast majority, denied the right to vote.

If all the eligible Negroes in the South could vote there would be no necessity for a federal anti-lynching law, for there would be a machinery available for colored people and the liberal white southern minority to correct the conditions which have permitted lynchings. There would be better schools for Negroes, a fairer distribution of all the municipal services, adequate hospitals and clinics, correctional institutions, Negroes on juries, sheriffs who attend to their jobs instead of acting as Preservers of the White Race—Right or Wrong, prosecutors capable of weighing evidence rather than color, and courts that would follow the law rather than prejudice.

The Negro must have the ballot in the South. That is evident to all persons who give even casual study to his predicament. The situation of minorities in our democracy is far from perfect even in the areas where they have the ballot; without it they are absolutely helpless.

Public Opinion

(*Continued from page 367*)

Changing the Public Mind

But how is this change brought about? Public opinion is born out of and itself contains the customs, traditions and norms of a people and yet it is itself the chief instrument for affecting changes in customs and traditions. When the public is faced with a crisis it begins to act in certain well defined ways. The crisis creates a consciousness that there is a common danger to all members of the group and this in turn makes possible team play.[12] Leaders appear who state the issue, propose solutions, and try to get their solutions adopted by the group. Then follow rational discussion in which experiences are told and in which each man begins to know or at least to get interested in learning what his fellows think and know about the subject. Expectation of a change for the better is aroused. Discrimination is used, discussion takes place in all sorts of places, facts are stated, sentiments, prejudices, hopes, fears, dogmas, principles, prophecies, tradition are all used to conform men's minds. Conflicts of interest become clear. Individuals "take sides" and a judgment is finally reached. Public opinion has been changed. By the wisdom of these judgments groups survive or perish, nations progress or decay.

So it is that the Negro must arouse the consciousness of the public mind to his needs and wants; he must find articulate leaders who are able to lead rational discussions and who are able to influence men in such a way as to have them accept our objective as the right one and as the one objective that will work for the good of the whole community. The cooperation must be secured of the schools, the press, the pulpit and all other organized agencies engaged in work that influences the public. We must have the cooperation of the schools to the degree that education itself will be designed to equip the child with what has been called "social judgment" so that he will not be the victim of fancies, prejudices, and such like things.[13] Happily, here and there, one already notes that the press is becoming increasingly liberal in its attitude.

Other Conditions Assist Change

The accomplishment of these things will of course take time and we need not be discouraged with one or two setbacks, for often when success is least expected, it appears as from nowhere. In but a moment, often by an apparently insignificant agency, public sentiment becomes crystallized and the multitude unites to accomplish the desired end. The history of the struggle for prohibition demonstrates this very clearly. For more than a century previous to the success of the movement the country had been in the throes of sometimes violent agitation for the prohibition of the production and sale of alcoholic drinks.[14] But to no avail. Then in the midst of the World War when it came to be felt generally that to bring the war to a successful conclusion it would be necessary to enact laws which would enable the government to control the production and sale of liquor, the agitation was brought to a successful conclusion by the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment and the passage of the Volstead Act.[15]

This was done during the excitement of the war days and did not represent what may be considered as the sober opinion of the general public and that it should subsequently be repudiated was to be expected. It was, however, very largely the effect of the war, which of course had no direct connection with prohibition, that brought success to the movement. The recent depression did very much the same thing for the agitation for the legal recognition of birth-control. For years leaders in this movement had raised the hue and cry to no avail. Then came the depression. When it was realized that the unemployed who were on relief were reproducing themselves at a rapid rate thus multiplying the number of mouths to be fed, the government, regardless of the powerful opposition of the Catholic Church, acquiesced in a measure to the demands that the leaders of the movement had made.

Thus it was that in both the effort to secure prohibition and to establish the legal status of birth control, success came through agencies whose immediate connections with those movements were insignificant to say the least. It would be unwise then to attempt to say in just what manner and through what agency our object will be obtained and, as a matter of fact, the means are really unimportant. The important thing is to ascertain what we want and work for it and in time, if we are diligent enough, it will come. It is too much to expect that social adjustments be made overnight.

Once the proper sentiment has been created the major battle has been won. Laws to enforce this sentiment may be expected to follow and laws without the sympathetic support of the people are useless. Law may be said to be a rule of action commanding what is considered to be right and forbidding what is wrong. As all law is made to regulate man's acts, the strength of law is determined by the respect that men show for the law and obedience they give to it. But this respect and obedience is never stronger than the public sentiment in its favor.

One may go even further and say that public opinion is more important than formal law. There are abundant instances in our history to prove this. A case in point may be cited from our colonial history. So long as the general public was opposed to the efforts of the British government to enforce the trade regulations, it was impossible to prevent smuggling by the enactment of laws by parliament. No jury would convict one of its neighbors for something it did not consider wrong. Obedience or disobedience to law is merely an evidence of the belief or conviction prevalent in a community that particular laws are beneficial, and therefore ought to be enforced, or that they are harmful, and therefore ought to be modified or repealed.[16] Public opinion then is almost all important and with its support no program can fail; without its support no program can succeed permanently. He then who moulds public opinion is more important than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. We must then find leaders who are capable of influencing the mind of the general public in such a way as to bring about a realization on the part of the masses that something must be done to improve the status of the Negro or the whole community must continue to suffer.[17]

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[12] I am indebted for this analysis to Clyde L. King, op. cit., pp. XXIII-XXIV.

[13] Sir Norman Angell, "The Teacher and the Public Mind" in W. B. Graves, op. cit., p. 244.

[14] C. R. Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man*, pp. 260-268.

[15] P. W. Slosson, *The Great Crusade and After*, pp. 105-112.

[16] A. V. Dicey, *Law and Public Opinion in England*, p. 3.

[17] Ben Cothran, "Ousting Judge Lynch" in *Forum and Century*, *October*, 1937, pp. 158-163.
Stop 16.48

Manuscripts Exhibited

Sixteen examples of lettering and illumination in European manuscripts from the 12th to the 17th century went on exhibit November 20 in the foyer of the Atlanta university library. This is the third in a series of seven displays of art materials to be provided Atlanta university this year by the Case Extension Circuit Cooperative.

Storer College Fire

A fire which broke out in the attic of Anthony Hall at Storer College, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, on November 18, was put out without injury to any students.

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

One Said It, A Million Think It

Philadelphia, Pa., *Tribune*

"I AM in favor of any organization which is opposed to colored people," said a former blacksmith when asked what was his reaction to a Klansman becoming a Justice of the Supreme Court.

This statement has caused hundreds of colored people to see red. They have called Joe McCarthy, the man who made the assertion, everything from a bigot to a fool.

McCarthy is to be admired for his downright frankness. He dislikes Negroes. He objects to their progress. He wants them "kept in their place" and he is not scared to say so.

A known enemy is of greater usefulness than a false friend. There are thousands of people here in Philadelphia who profess lip service to liberalism and respect for the Constitution but who are infinitely more dangerous to the welfare of colored people than McCarthy.

These so-called liberals yell their heads off about intolerance and bigotry having no place in American life when they are often the worst offenders. They claim that they have no prejudice against Negroes. Nevertheless they refuse to employ them in their businesses. The best way, in fact the only way to prevent colored people from advancing in America is to keep them out of shop and factory.

Those who refuse to employ colored people have the spirit of the Klan buried deep in their souls whether they know it or not. No person who keeps his factory or his shop lily-white believes in the equality of colored Americans and it does not change that fact because he writes a big check for Fisk University or Tuskegee Institute.

And because a person has one "pet" Negro, it does not mean that he is tolerant toward colored people as a group. More often the opposite is true.

It is easier to deal with known enemies than with false friends who profess a keen desire to see Negroes attain their full rights as American citizens while doing nothing to help bring this about except talk. Office seekers will promise anything to colored voters prior to an election. Immediately thereafter they go lily-white.

We can respect a man who holds views contrary to our own; but liars, frauds and cheats are the scum of the earth and deserve the respect of neither the devil nor man.

Yes, McCarthy said what a million others think but lack the courage to say. It is well that colored Americans understand that fact now. Everyone who smiles or gives checks to colored institutions is not necessarily a friend of the Negro. Politicians who make pleasing statements and denounce the Ku Klux Klan are not always friends. They are looking for votes.

Colored Americans should use JOBS as the measuring rod for friendships. Those who are unwilling to give work to colored people are not the friends of the Race, regardless of what else they say or do.

In several states, Georgia included, the payment of one dollar per year as a poll tax, is required in order that a person can register and vote. This law has been questioned for a number of years, but, no test has been made of it until recently. A party in Atlanta has found it necessary, and is now testing it. The case is before the Supreme Court, and a decision may be given most any time. It would mean much to Georgia, and especially the colored voters, to have this useless law passed into discard. . . .—Savannah *Tribune*.

It is the minorities who suffer most under Fascism and it is the minorities who will have to join hands and lead in the fight to see that their governments do the will of the people and not the will of those who will to rule the governments.—Helen Keesecker in the Cleveland *Eagle*.

The Division of Negro Affairs of the Department of Commerce has just released statistics showing that while there has been a loss in the total number of Negro retail stores since 1929, the number of Negro-owned candy and confectionery stores has increased from 1,137 to 1,338, a gain of 201 stores during the depression.

Significantly, this increase came during a period when there was a national decline in the consumption of sweets per capita, in pounds and dollar value.

In other words, Negro candy business increased in a period of decreasing consumption.

There is great hope for Negro business when it has the intelligence and ingenuity to increase business while others are losing business . . . —Pittsburgh *Courier*.

Mrs. Roosevelt spoke in New York last week before 3,000 colored persons, and believe it or not, the *Afro-American* was the only newspaper to print a complete text of the address. . . .

It is true that the First Lady often makes two or three speeches a day and several a week, so that the press is hard put to keep up with her; but since entering the White House, this is her third major appearance before colored audiences. In Washington she spoke for the N.A.A.C.P. and in Baltimore for the Urban League.

More important than these incidentals is what Mrs. Roosevelt said. Here are some things:

"You are not the only people who feel that you are not wanted."

"We want for the nation as a whole . . . equal standards."

"All citizens should have equal opportunity."

"You (colored) still have a long way to go in education and in a sense of your relation to the country."

"We (whites) have a long way to go yet, we need education; we need understanding."

"One of the things we should work for is an equal chance for every child to go to school."

There is nothing especially learned or academic in the above quotations, but there is something more important; namely, a sincere and frank, heart-to-heart talk on our common problems.

Here is plain evidence that humble people are not forgotten and that those farthest down have the sympathy and the good will of the wife of the chief executive.

Her examples of unselfish service to the nation and especially the women of the nation are worth more than millions in philanthropy.—*Afro-American*.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

More than Million Christmas Seals Out

The tenth annual sale of N.A.A.C.P. Christmas seals opened officially November 1 and as this is being written more than one million seals have been distributed for sale. The design for the 1937 seal was made by Miss Louise E. Jefferson, a young colored Harlem artist. Sales are being conducted under the direction of Miss Juanita E. Jackson of the national office. Branches, youth councils and college chapters have appointed salesmen, as well as individual bodies not connected with the Association. Already reports have come into the national office on individual sales totaling approximately $500. The goal this year is $5,000, which will be an increase of $1,500 over the total raised in 1936.

The idea of selling Christmas seals to raise money for the general work of the N.A.A.C.P. was originated in 1927 by Mrs. Memphis T. Garrison of Gary, West Virginia. Each year the sale has grown until it represents an important part of the year-end receipts of the Association. The money this year is badly needed to round out a deficit occasioned by the extended fight for the anti-lynching bill, the campaign against educational inequalities and the other items on the Association's program. In past years seals of the N.A.A.C.P. have been designed by E. Simms Campbell, the famous cartoonist; Romare Bearden, well known artist and cartoonist; and Richmond Barthé, the young sculptor and painter.

Workers in the seal campaign are urging the public to purchase these seals for use on holiday letters, greeting cards and packages. If there is no salesman in your community you may purchase directly from the New York office, 69 Fifth Avenue, in any quantity. The price is one cent each.

Anti-Lynching Bill Blocked Temporarily

When the special session of Congress opened on November 15, the first item of business was scheduled to be a farm bill and the second item the Gavagan-Wagner-Van Nuys anti-lynching bill. Since the farm bill was not ready, Senator Wagner moved that the anti-lynching bill be taken up, since it was ready and since more than 65 votes have been pledged for it. This motion was made November 16, and immediately Senator Tom Connally of Texas began a filibuster against the motion to take up the bill, contending that it was out of its place on the calendar and should not be considered until after the farm bill.

Although Senator Connally and the other senators who spoke after him repeatedly asserted that they were not conducting a filibuster, still they talked continuously for six days, not desisting until November 22, when a farm bill was reported hurriedly by the Committee on Agriculture.

On November 22, Senator Alben W. Barkley, majority leader, announced that in accordance with the agreement made last August, the anti-lynching bill would come up again immediately after the farm bill had been disposed of.

It was estimated on November 22 that the farm bill would occupy at least three weeks of the time of the special session, and perhaps longer. Washington observers doubted that the anti-lynching bill would be reached at the special session, but predicted that it would pass in January, or, at the latest, in February.

When the farm bill is out of the way the anti-lynching bill will be the order of the day without debate, and must be disposed of one way or another. Senator Barkley, however, predicted that the farm bill might be disposed of in ten days, in which event the anti-lynching bill will come up shortly after the first of December.

It is reported that the speeches of the opponents to the bill, with the exception of some remarks of Senator Connally, are not as bitter as they have been in previous filibusters and it is the belief of many persons that the bill will be passed with only 20 or 25 votes against it.

Gallup Poll Shows People Favor Bill

The American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup poll) announced November 14 that a new straw vote which it had taken on the question of a federal anti-lynching bill, showed 72% of the people interviewed in favor of such a bill. In the South the ratio was 53% in favor and 47% against.

Baltimore Branch Raises $3,310

The Baltimore, Md., branch of the Association, under the leadership of

The Baltimore, Md., branch executive committee which has just concluded its annual membership campaign: Seated, left to right, Mrs. Augusta T. Chissell, Mrs. Florence L. Snowden, Mrs. Alida Frisby, Mrs. Sarah Fernandis, Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, president; Mrs. Fannie Johnson, Mrs. Bertha Proctor, Mrs. Lillian Lottier, Mrs. Sarah Diggs. Standing, left to right, George B. Murphy, the Rev. Ward D. Yerby, the Rev. George Bragg, W. A. C. Hughes, Jr., the Rev. Garnett Waller, Miss Courtney Carter, the Rev. C. Edward Browne, Miss Juanita E. Jackson, campaign director; William N. Jones, John L. Berry, Dr. Jesse Weaver, and the Rev. John T. Colbert

Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, president, broke all records in its campaign history and raised a total to date of $3,310 from its annual fall membership campaign. The campaign director was Miss Juanita E. Jackson of the national office.

The team bringing in the largest amount of members and cash was that led by Mrs. Josiah Diggs, who reported a total of $312.50. She was awarded an electric washing machine, the gift of a Negro merchant, Reuben L. Colley, manager of the Uptown General Electric store. Mrs. Florence L. Snowden and her team came second, reporting a total of $210. It will be remembered that Mrs. Snowden led the country in the sale of NAACP Christmas seals last year. She was awarded a trip to the 29th annual conference of the Association which will be held in Columbus, Ohio, next June. This award was by the branch.

Mrs. Augusta T. Chissell, chairman of the Interracial committee reported $200 which was received from white memberships.

The teachers of the city gave unprecedented cooperation through the Baltimore City Association of Teachers in Colored Schools of which William N. Anderson is president, William H. Proctor, secretary, and John Woodhouse, treasurer. Appointing a captain in each school, the Association urged each school to make a one hundred per cent report, and as a result a total of $680 was contributed by the teachers. A silver loving cup, the gift of Katz Co., local merchants, was presented to the Association of Teachers at their annual meeting October 21, by the Baltimore branch in appreciation of their cooperation. George B. Murphy, retired school principal, initiated the effort to get the cooperation of the teachers.

The ministers of the city endorsed the campaign and appointed teams in their churches to cooperate.

The city was also divided into districts, Northwest Baltimore, South Baltimore and East Baltimore. Mrs. J. Edward Browne, captain of the East Baltimore district, reported a total of $128. Mrs. William H. Deane, captain of the South Baltimore district, reported $70.

During the campaign an effort was made to line up the counties. Montgomery county reported a total of $313 and organized a branch during the campaign. Baltimore county reported $109 and Calvert county, $75.

The Baltimore branch was reorganized in 1935 after a state of inactivity for some years. Under the new president, Mrs. Jackson, the branch has made great progress. At the present time Mrs. Jackson is working toward the organization of a Maryland State Conference of Branches. To this end she and her committee are visiting the counties and towns organizing branches where none exist.

Detroit Total $3,603.25

The final report on the 1937 membership campaign of the Detroit, Mich., branch by Dr. James J. McClendon, chairman, shows a total of $3,603.25 representing 3,015 memberships. The team bringing in the largest amount was headed by Dr. McClendon and reported $324.50. The other members of the team were J. S. Talley, Mrs. Ethel Ellis, Mrs. Mattie Montgomery, Claude H. Cooper, Miss Alberta Markus and Mrs. Estelle Nay.

The 1937 campaign marks the Detroit branch as the largest branch of the N.A.A.C.P. in the country.

Louisville Raises $1,004.67

Final report on the Louisville, Ky., branch membership campaign, which was conducted this fall under the general direction of Mrs. Daisy E. Lamp-

(*Continued on next page*)

Detroit, Mich., now has the largest branch in the Association with a 3,015 membership. The branch entertained the 28th annual conference of the Association last June, but just prior to that it conducted the most successful membership campaign in the recent history of the Association, reporting a total of $3,603.25 from the city of Detroit alone. Mrs. Lampkin directed the campaign, but the local chairman who stimulated the workers to record-breaking activity was Dr. J. J. McClendon. His team, which brought in the largest amount in the drive, is shown above

Standing left to right: J. S. Talley, Mrs. Ethel Ellis, Mrs. Mattie Montgomery, Claude H. Cooper. Seated, left to right: Miss Alberta Markus, Dr. McClendon and Mrs. Estelle Nay

kin, field secretary, shows a total of $1,004.67. The goal was $1,000. The chairman of the campaign was Clyde A. Liggin. Mrs. Jennie B. Liggin and Mrs. Alice McKenney were co-captains of the second highest team. Mrs. Bessie S. Etherly and Mrs. Anna R. Hughes were the two workers bringing in the highest individual totals.

E. Louis Moore Leads Indianapolis Drive

The campaign in Indianapolis, under the direction of Mrs. Lampkin, reported more than $650 raised, with Attorney E. Louis Moore bringing in the largest number of members, 110. The Indianapolis branch sent $325 to the national office. The Reverend Arthur Womack is president of the branch.

Mr. Moore has filed suit against the Indianapolis school board, the superintendent and others, to secure the admission of Erroll Grandy to Technical high school. Young Grandy wishes to study physiography, but this subject is not offered in the Crispus Attucks high school erected some years ago for Negro students. When he applied to Technical high school, he was refused admittance on the ground that Attucks high school was for Negroes and he would have to attend there.

E. LOUIS MOORE

Branch News

Charles White, assistant law director of Cleveland, O., spoke on the topic: "The Negro in Politics" for the first forum of the season sponsored by the **Akron, O.,** branch October 24. The forum committee is headed by Dr. J. W. Dunbar assisted by Mrs. Marguerite Crawford and T. M. Fletcher.

Dr. William Munroe was guest speaker for the **Tacoma, Washington,** branch October 17. His topic was "Impressions on my Recent Trip Through the South."

Dean William Pickens, director of branches of the N.A.A.C.P., made a lecture tour of Negro schools in West Virginia under auspices of I. J. K. Wells, state supervisor of Negro education.

On October 19, Dean Pickens addressed the public forum of Camden, N. J., telling the history of the Negro in this country.

Miss Juanita E. Jackson addressed a meeting of the Plainfield, N. J., youth council October 22.

Dr. DeWitt Talmadge Alcorn spoke on the meetings of the National Negro Congress in Philadelphia before the **Topeka, Kansas,** branch October 22.

The **Santa Barbara, Cal.,** branch met October 24.

The Reverend E. P. Dixon, president of the **Jersey City, N. J.,** branch, spoke at a meeting of the better housing league October 15.

The **Newton, Kansas,** branch held a special meeting for young people October 17 with an attendance of more than 50. The Reverend Portlock was the principal speaker and special music was rendered by Mrs. Edward Rawlins.

The **Winston-Salem, N. C.,** branch is in the midst of its fall membership campaign under the direction of President L. D. Campt.

The regular fall membership campaign of the **Albany, N. Y.,** branch began October 30. Dean Pickens was present to assist the workers. Officers of the branch are Mrs. John W. Kell, president; Howard Spencer, vice-president; John H. Bronk, corresponding secretary; Mrs. George W. Bowks, recording secretary and J. A. Adams, treasurer.

Miss Juanita E. Jackson, of the national office staff, spoke for the **Rochester, N. Y.,** branch at the First Unitarian Church October 31.

The youth council of the **Rahway, N. J.,** branch held election of officers October 26.

The auxiliary of the **Morristown, N. J.,** branch met with Mrs. Robert Stoutenburgh October 27. The auxiliary made plans for the annual Christmas party for the children of Morris county.

Dean William Pickens spoke before the New Jersey State Teachers' Association in Atlantic City November 12, on the topic: "The Negro as an American." The meeting was held in Convention Hall, Atlantic City, and more than 7,000 persons heard Dean Pickens. This is the second time in the history of the State Teachers' Association that a colored speaker has been on the program and the first time that an outside colored speaker not a teacher in New Jersey has been invited.

The **Houston, Tex.,** branch held its annual meeting and election of officers November 14. The secretary of the branch, J. H. Harmon, Jr., reported upon his recent trip to the east where he was a delegate to the National Negro Congress. The new officers were installed at the annual banquet of the branch held at Antiok Baptist church on November 13.

The **Media, Pa.,** branch held its annual election of officers in the Wesley A.M.E. church, Swarthmore, Pa., Tuesday November 21, and the following persons were elected to office: Grant V. Freeman, president; Miss Gladys Quinlan, vice-president; C. I. Moat, secretary; Frederick Randolph, assistant secretary; and John Taliaferro, treasurer.

The executive committee: Mrs. Ethel Wynn, Mrs. Ophelia McCall, Mrs. Josephine Smith, Miss H. Louise Ryder, Dr. Lancess McKnight, Rev. Ambrose Smith, J. Passmore Elkinton, Miss Eleanore Payne, B. E. Garnett, R. J. Herndon, Sebastine H. Hunter, Rev. L. W. Stanford, Dr. Jesse H. Holmes, Mrs. Magnolia I. Butler, and Miss Cora Warren.

The branch is engaged in a fall program replete with many activities. On September 24, the entertainment committee sponsored a successful Koffee Klutch at the residence of its chairman, Mrs. Josephine Smith.

The membership campaign was opened Thursday evening October 14, at a mass meeting which was addressed by William Pickens. The attendance at this meeting was quite large in spite of many other activities in Media and its environs. The goal set by the membership committee is 250 new members. This campaign ended November 9, 1937.

Through the efforts of this branch, Mr. Pickens addressed the student body of Media high school in two assemblies. This is the first occasion on which a person of color has addressed the student body of this institution. Dean Pickens spoke to them of the active participation of Negro soldiers in all American wars since the war of the Revolution. He also spoke of many other accomplishments of our group which are not recorded in text books. So warmly was he received by the first group, that the principal told him to talk to the second.

Definite, but not satisfactory, progress is being made in the handling of civil rights cases. The last case in which we were interested resulted in the jury's bringing in a verdict of "Not Guilty," but placing the cost of court upon the owner of a drug store who had refused to serve a Negro. This is a definite step forward as in the other case in which we were interested, the grand jury failed to find a true bill. We feel reasonably certain that with the experience that we have gained from these cases, we will be able to get a verdict which is

START ON TIME

(An editorial for branches)

The editor of THE CRISIS had the pleasure of speaking on November 15 for the annual meeting and election of officers of the Cleveland, O., branch, but received his keenest pleasure and greatest surprise over the fact that the meeting, called for 8:15 p. m., actually started on the dot of the hour set. The editor arrived at 8:13 and barely had time to shake the rain off his coat and get to the platform before the chairman was calling the meeting to order.

We urge our branches to follow the example of Cleveland. Stop the practice of calling a meeting for 4 p. m. and starting it (perhaps) at 4:45. Night meetings called for 8:30 have been started as late as 9:45. This is not only unfair to the speakers (who frequently have to scramble for late night trains or buses or ferries in order to get home by 2 a. m.) but it gives the branch a bad reputation with the public. If the public knows that an NAACP meeting will start on time and end at a reasonable hour, more people will come out.

Get the Cleveland spirit! Start on time!

satisfactory in its entirety the next time a case is brought to us for prosecution.

The board of directors and the advisory board of the **Columbus, O.,** branch met in a breakfast session November 7 at the Blue Triangle Y.W.C.A. The discussion, which dealt with current problems and the 1938 convention, was lead by Miss Evelyn Lewis and Judge Joseph L. Heffernan. Miss Lewis gave a brief history of the local branch and outlined the problems now facing it.

Judge Heffernan, who has been associated with the N.A.A.C.P. for over fifteen years, stressed economic security as a means of solving many of our problems. In the comments which followed, those given by Bishop R. E. Jones aroused much enthusiasm. Bishop Jones stated that one of the most conducive factors to many of our problems is the contentment and complacency with which Columbus Negroes accept their injustices.

The success of the well attended meeting could not be commented upon without mentioning those who put forth much effort in preparing and serving the food: Mrs. J. F. Skelton, Mrs. C. E. Dickinson and Mrs. Mae Johnston.

New Press

The Oaklahoma City, Okla., *Black Dispatch*, founded, owned and edited by Roscoe Dunjee, installed a new sixteen-page Goss high speed press in October. Mr. Dunjee is prominent in the activities of Oklahoma and the Southwest. He is president of the Oklahoma branches of the NAACP and a member of the national board of directors.

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N.A.A.C.P. Youth Council News

Educational Mass Meetings Successful

Calling the attention of the nation to the educational inequalities which face Negro youth, youth councils and college chapters of the Association held a nation-wide series of Mass Meetings Against Educational Inequalities during American Education Week.

Charles H. Houston, special counsel, spoke at the Campus-wide Student Educational Meeting held during chapel hour at Morgan college on November 10. He presented the educational campaign of the Association.

In Boston, Mass., Dr. Clarence R. Skinner, dean of Tufts college school of theology, was the speaker at the youth council mass meeting held at St. Mark's Congregational church, November 7. He spoke on "Prejudice and Its Effect on Negro Education." Greetings were read from Walter White, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P.

(*Continued on next page*)

Officers of the Newark, Ohio, youth council. Seated, left to right, Miss Hazel Weaver, president; Miss Ruth Holbert, vice-president. Standing, left to right, Miss Marjory Guy, assistant secretary; Marshall Freeman, treasurer; and Miss Gladys Weaver, secretary

In Gary, Ind., the youth council mass meeting was focused on discriminations which Negro pupils face in the public school system. A high school pupil told of the conditions in Froebel school, a mixed school where Negro pupils are not allowed to go in swimming, or play in the school band. Protest was made to the State Athletic Association against the custom which bars Negro athletic teams from competing with the white.

The Detroit, Mich., youth councils, of which there are five, held their educational meeting on Sunday, November 14, at the Y.M.C.A. with the Rev. A. Franklin Fisher as principal speaker. The St. Stephens junior choir, Joseph Coles, baritone from Chicago, and the Ardrick Phillingame string ensemble presented special music.

In conjunction with the mass meeting, the education committee (Miss Connell Rosemond, chairman) sponsored a pictorial exhibit, depicting the development of Negro schools and colleges. Miss Rosemond wrote to more than sixty colleges and received much valuable material. The exhibit was on display in the Board room of the Y.M.C.A., and tea was served.

White Scores Inequalities in Radio Speech

"In attacking the problem of equal educational opportunities for a tenth of our national population, the N.A.A.C.P. is taking care to abstain from thinking only of ending discrimination against the Negro," declared Walter White, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., as he spoke over the Columbia Broadcasting System on a nationwide network from 3:15 to 3:30 p.m. November 10.

"While that is of great importance, we think of the campaign as being of even greater importance to America as a whole. As long as any part of our national population can be denied educational and economic opportunity, just so long will we fail to achieve that perfection of government which is our goal.

"Deny them the right to earn a decent living, to enjoy the benefits of education, to live in decent, sanitary homes, and to live a normal life, and you reap the inevitable result in illness, crime, delinquency and enormous relief rolls."

Mr. White's speech was a part of a nationwide observance by youth councils and college chapters of American Education Week, November 7-13 which is annually sponsored by the National Education Association.

Mr. White further pointed out that the U.S. supreme court has held that separation of the races in the public school systems is not a violation of the federal constitution as long as the facilities are equal. "But," he emphasized, "there is no single instance of such equality to be found anywhere in the South."

He gave as an example the fact that eleven southern states spent 252.5% more per white child than for Negroes, although Negro Americans are taxed at the same rate as other Americans to raise these funds for public education.

500,000 Seals Goal of Youth Members

Setting out to sell 500,000 Christmas seals, youth councils and college chapters are devising ingenious methods for distributing their quotas.

The Philadelphia youth council seal chairman, Miss Gwendolyn R. Pasco, has ordered $500 worth of seals, and according to the officers of this youth council, they are going over the top.

Miss Lorrayne Porter, who is youth council seal chairman in Detroit, has some interesting ideas for putting over her sale. Having five youth council units cooperating, she has scheduled three report meetings for her seal sellers before December 17 which is the national deadline for reports. At each meeting she will try to have reported $100, so that she hopes to reach her goal of $300 at the third report meeting. The Detroit youth councils led the country in their sale last year; so that some keen rivalry is expected between Detroit and Philadelphia.

Miss Jean Nelson of Pittsburgh youth council has fifteen seal sellers out to raise $150.

Mrs. Mattie Gatlin, youth council seal chairman of Gary, Indiana, has planned a Christmas seal dance with an admission price of twenty-five Christmas seals.

Other youth councils appointing chairmen are: Mobile, Ala., Oakland, Calif.; Louisville, Ky.; Boston and Springfield, Mass.; Port Huron, Mich.; Jackson, Miss.; Kansas City, Mo.; Jersey City, Montclair and Plainfield, N. J.; Jamaica,

Some of the members of the Philadelphia Youth Council. Seated, left to right, Evelyn Carrington, corresponding secretary; Myrtle Henry, chairman program committee; Dr. Harry J. Greene, senior branch president; Marian Wilson, president youth council; Mrs. McDougald, sponsor youth council; John Perdue, president Youth Civic League and member N.A.A.C.P.; Helen Bassett and Winifred Medley, members

Mount Vernon, New York City, Rochester and White Plains, N.Y.; Wilson, N. C.; Canton, Cleveland, Newark, Portsmouth, Toledo, and Youngstown, Ohio; Drumright, Dustin, Muskogee, Tulsa, Okla.; Monessen, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh, Pa.; Houston, Tex.; Richmond, Va.; Charleston and Montgomery, W. Va.

College chapters selling seals to date are Benedict College, Columbia, S. C.; Miles Memorial College, Birmingham, Ala.; Langston University, Langston, Okla.

New York Juniors Contribute $15

The New York City Junior Youth Council consisting of young people under 16 years, of which Jane White is president, Lois Pearson, secretary, and Miss Amanda Kemp, adviser, held a cake sale on October 30 at the Madame Walker Beauty Parlor and in the Dunbar Apartments. As a result they have contributed fifteen dollars to the Association for its general work.

At present they are in the midst of a city-wide sale of N.A.A.C.P. Christmas seals, and according to Lois Pearson, they are "zealously working."

Boston Council Seeks Theatre Jobs

The Boston youth council under the dynamic leadership of Miss Myrtle Campbell, president, is still waging its fight to get Negro ushers in the Dudley theatre, one of the M. & P. chain, with a large Negro patronage. Manager Levin has tried to effect a compromise by offering the members of the committee who waited on him season's passes to the theatre, and by stating in the near future he might have room for one Negro in the maintenance department. However, he has absolutely refused to hire Negro ushers. An actual count has been started by the youth council members to prove to the manager that the Negro patronage of his theatre is 40 per cent or more, instead of his figure of 15 per cent.

At the regular membership meeting on Saturday, October 9, to an audience of fifty members, Martin D. Richardson, formerly of Florida, spoke on "Peonage in Florida." A lively discussion and question period followed. On October 23, Henry Deas, representative at the National Negro Congress, gave an account of the sessions. Mr. Seaton Manning gave the first of a series of talks on Negroes in various fields, starting with the Negro in college football.

The youth council cooperated with the Boston Urban League and the Aristo Club in sponsoring a Vocational Guidance Conference, November 11, 1937. The aim of this conference is to assist junior high school pupils in choosing their careers. The practice in the school system is to urge colored boys and girls to go to trade or practical arts schools.

The youth council has endorsed the program of the Interfraternal council of Greater Boston to register all eligible Negro voters and educate them in the intelligent use of the ballot. The youth council has assisted in putting in circulation a great many pamphlets "Facts Colored Citizens Should Know About Voting," which has been edited by the Inter-Fraternal Council.

Charleston Surveys Community Needs

The Charleston, W. Va., Youth Council got under way in its fall program with a discussion of "Community Needs and How To Remedy Them," led by two high school students and Miss Virginia Marshall who has recently returned from the TVA project where she was employed as social worker. Miss Dorothy Walker, delegate to the annual conference of the association in Detroit last June, made a report of that meeting. The council decided that it could dispose of at least twenty copies of THE CRISIS each month. In order to bring directly to the group's attention the important issues handled by the Association, the council selected Kermit Hall to give a brief summary of all N.A.A.C.P. press releases each month.

Interracial Dinners Started in Detroit

On October 30, at the Cleveland school, the North Detroit youth council successfully launched the first of a series of interracial dinners. (This marked the first time that the board of education has let out the cafeteria of the school to a private group.)

Preceding a musical program Gladys Brown spoke briefly on the subject, "Negroes Face the Future." Climaxing the address by Miss Brown, Alphonse Rodriquez, young honor student at Wayne university and former student at Louisiana state university, delivered an address on the solution of the many social problems which confront Negro youth of America. On November 5, the North End youth council held a similar dinner at the Y.W.C.A. Both affairs were well attended and the total attendance of over 300 indicates the gains the councils are making in the city.

Tulsa Works For Domestics

When the Oklahoma State Welfare Commission announced its order that housemaids are to be excluded from the wage hour regulations for the laundry industry, the Tulsa council began to work on the problem of improving conditions for domestic workers in the city and throughout the state.

A resolution was passed and sent to the state commission. On October 17, at the joint senior branch youth council mass meeting public opinion was further mobilized. The council is preparing for the hearings which will be conducted by the state commission during the next few months.

Anniston Council Wants Library

In Anniston, Ala., there are no library facilities for Negro youth. The youth council of the Association there, under the leadership of Hazel Dean Turner, has been working steadily on this problem. As a result, the white library has promised some books with which to get the colored library started. Colored young people have hitherto been prohibited from borrowing any books from the white library.

Cleveland Studies Civil Liberties

Under the leadership of Robert Fritzmeier, chairman, the civil liberties committee of the Cleveland Youth Council is investigating cases of discrimination in settlement houses, Salvation Army camps, hospitals, and schools. There is in process by the council a special campaign by youth members on public places which are known to discriminate against Negroes.

The first large-scale fund raising activity for the fall, a Halloween Masquerade, was held October 30, at the Cosmopolitan club. The winning membership team from the Youngstown Ohio youth council were special guests. Delegations from surrounding towns in Northeastern Ohio were in attendance. Roslyn Sheats and Roy Stewart were the co-chairmen of the affair.

A studio party sponsored by the youth council September 24 raised sufficient funds to service two cars and pay registration fees of eight delegates to the state conference of branches and youth councils meeting in Toledo. The following persons were official delegates: Robert Williams, Ardelia Bradley, Beatrice Avery, Everett Bates, Robert Fritzmeier, Edna Wasem, Alice Allen and Roy Stewart.

Weekly Forums

The Houston, Tex., youth council under the leadership of James H. Jemison, president, is sponsoring a series of for-

ums open to the general public. At the present time, a special membership campaign is under way under the direction of Redden Portis. The goal is for 100 new members. Already, the council is planning to send a record delegation to the annual conference in Columbus, Ohio, next June.

Better Housing For Philadelphia

The Philadelphia youth council is cooperating with the senior branch of the Association in the effort to secure better housing conditions for the Negro citizens. Youth members have been going into the slum areas visiting housewives and families asking them to write letters to the mayor asking for a housing program for the Negroes of Philadelphia. Miss Marian Wilson is president of the groups, and Mrs. Annie L. McDougald is the adviser.

Membership Drive

The Newark, Ohio, youth council under the direction of Dr. A. S. Burton, the adviser, and Miss Hazel Weaver, president, is in the midst of its annual fall membership campaign. A feature of the weekly meetings is the presentation of some subject of interest to Negro youth by a special speaker, which is followed by discussion among the members.

At the present time the athletic division of the council is preparing a team for the basketball season, which will play regular scheduled games in a church league.

Daniel Hickman, a member of the youth council, has entered Denison university, and has been the only Negro student enrolled there since the graduation of his father, some twenty years ago. Eugene Whitstone, another member, is now a sophomore at Wilberforce university.

Drive for Funds

The newly chartered youth council of Louisville, Ky., is in the midst of a series of financial efforts to raise funds for helping to carry on the work of the Association. A musical tea, a bazaar, and popularity contest figure in the plans of this energetic new group. All meetings of the council are being held at the Y.W.C.A. Miss Mildred E. Ferrell is secretary.

20th Anniversary

The Louisville *Leader*, published by I. Willis Cole, celebrated its twentieth birthday November 3.

Detroit Big Stick

(*Continued from page* 364)

course, the Big Business slate was nonpartisan, according to the propaganda.

The proposals of Patrick O'Brien to rid the city of slums with adequate housing and to force the landlords of the city to exact a rent within reason, were derided and labeled pipe dreams. There is not a single Negro fireman in the city and out of three thousand policemen not over forty are colored. When the labor slate promised to end this discrimination in the city government, the Reading workers said the labor candidates were insincere. Dick Reading did not even promise to do anything about it.

Now that the smoke of battle is cleared, what is the outlook? In the first place, the citizens of Detroit, black as well as white, can look forward to a continuance of the same type of government that they have had for the last twenty years. The same professional politicians who have ruled the city in the past are still in the saddle. Some of them have been promoted and some have not, but none of them have been altogether ousted. Thus, instead of a change, Detroit has had a shift of her public servants.

To expect the same old machine to run better each succeeding year, is simply to expect too much. A few Negroes will get appointments of insignificance and civic squawks will be squashed as usual. Some gesture of goodwill toward the minority groups may be forthcoming, but fundamentally nothing will be very different. Discrimination in the city government will be fought by our various organizations and something may be promised, but there is no reason to feel that anything will be done. Reading received the majority of the colored votes and he made no promises. His record in public office offers little ground for optimism with regard to his consideration of the Negro or of the worker.

Promise in Labor Vote

The picture of the future, however, is flecked with some sunlight despite the shadows. Detroit has witnessed labor's first political stand, but certainly not its last. Although overwhelmingly defeated, the labor candidates polled a vote of distinct significance. In order to beat labor almost a hundred thousand voters went to the polls who had never been there in normal municipal elections. This was the largest municipal election in the history of the city.

A recent editorial in the Detroit *News* called attention to the huge labor vote and warned its readers that unless they exercise great vigilance labor might soon "seize the reins of government." The victory of La Guardia in New York City, who received an estimated 450,000 votes from the ranks of labor, is being heralded here. Many political observers in Detroit agree with the post-election statement of Patrick O'Brien that the defeat of labor is only temporary.

The progress of the Negro in Detroit is tied to the progress of labor generally. Many of the local race leaders are afraid of the C.I.O. They point out rightfully that the A. F. of L. exercised great prejudice toward the colored worker in many trades. Hence they point out also that the C.I.O. must of necessity work against him. But the masses of the colored workers are not so convinced and of the twenty thousand auto workers in Detroit, an estimated eight thousand have union cards.

To be sure the colored workers are studying their course and they are thinking seriously of the advantages as well as disadvantages of organized labor. While a great many of the local Negro leaders and preachers are telling them not to trust the unions, the workers are attending union meetings regularly and more and more of them are joining up. The political aspirations of the labor group in the recent election stimulated deep interest among those who undoubtedly will back the labor program in the future.

The promises of the labor candidates to end the bold discrimination in the city government, to better the housing conditions and to lower food prices, were not ignored. The new fraternal treatment the colored workers are receiving from their white fellow members of the unions, is also encouraging confidence. After two more years of municipal rule by the big corporations behind Dick Reading, the colored workers may give the next labor slate a bloc vote for the first time in history.

Christmas Candle

(*Continued from page* 359)

window glowed the tall candle, its steady, soft light seeming brighter because the room behind it was dark.

The sobs could come now. The lady with the eyes would understand. Rushing through the half-open gate, Jonathan ran up the path, and stumbled up the steps to the door. With vigor that flowed from somewhere into his stiff fingers, he pushed on the bell as hard as possible.

It was only a short while before the door opened, and the lady with the kind

eyes, stood before him. Jonathan did not understand, for she was dressed in hat and fur coat, and was carrying a traveling bag.

"Why, what is it?" Linda's voice expressed her extreme surprise. "I thought it was the taxi driver. Come in child. Who are you? What do you want?"

Setting her bag in a corner of the hall, Linda seized the weeping six-year-old by his hands, and dragging him into the warmth, shut the door behind him.

"You poor darling," she cried, "you are almost frozen. Are you alone? Come in here."

Opening the door, she stepped into the room lighted by the candle. Jonathan, encircled by her arm, stumbled after her, dazed by the sudden warmth.

"Please Ma'am, I came for Mumsy," he gasped, as Linda, having set him on a stool in front of the fire, and taken off his wet shoes and stockings, threw her own hat, gloves and coat on the divan near the fire-place.

"For Mumsy?" How kind her voice was, just as kind as her eyes.

"Where is your Mumsy, and what does she want, sending you out like this?"

Jonathan, unable to bear that accusing tone in Linda's voice, began at once to tell his story. It was easy to tell, as she bent over him, chafing his feet with her soft, tender hands. Of course the words got tumbled together and mixed up a bit, but the lady listened until he got to the part about Mumsy lying so still since she stopped groaning yesterday. Then, Linda sprang up abruptly, and, without a word, rushed into the hall, leaving a very wide-eyed boy staring after her.

In the hall, Linda closed the door to the room which she had just left, stood for a moment, to gain her self-control, and then sat down at the telephone stand in the niche under the stairway. Hastily she dialed a number—the number of the telephone at the home of Theodore's parents. He would still be there, as it was yet too early for him to go to the church.

"Hello?" Thank the gods! It was Theodore himself calling. In a voice as steady as she could make it, Linda told Jonathan's story. When she came to the part about Mumsy sleeping so long, she found it impossible to go on.

"All right, sweetheart, I'll get some one out there as quickly as possible. Meanwhile, look after the little tyke. Maybe—maybe—"

Linda had one of her rare flashes of understanding.

"Yes, dear," she answered, "he'll share our Christmas with us tomorrow, and from then on. You see, darling, the Christmas candle brought him."

Book Review

HENLEY'S TWENTIETH CENTURY BOOK OF FORMULAS, PROCESSES AND TRADE SECRETS By T. O'Connor Sloane, A.B., A.M., E.M., Ph.D. Henley Publishing Co., New York. $4.00.

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G. S. S.

THESE LOW GROUNDS by Waters Edward Turpin. Harper & Brothers, New York. $2.50.

With the publication of "These Low Grounds," his first novel, Waters Edward Turpin has at a single leap forged into the first rank of those creative writers attempting to interpret the life of the American Negro. Not that this book is *the* Aframerican classic; but that it is a good story, convincingly told, well written and refreshingly human.

In outline, this novel, covering four generations of a Maryland family, is of epic proportions. In substance, however, this promise is not fulfilled. Opening in the middle of the nineteenth century when slavery was still a legal institution in America, the story follows the fortunes of Martha, the slave woman, and her family down to her present day great grandson, Jimmy-Lew Prince, college bred school teacher on Maryland's Eastern Shore.

It is historically significant that Mr. Turpin has chosen to unfold his story through the women of the family down to the present generation. It reveals the dominant role which the Negro woman has played in the development of the race—a role inherited from Africa and re-inforced by the slave system which obliterated the obligations of paternity.

Martha, liberated by the Civil War, continues in the employ of her Baltimore mistress. Two ambitions absorbed her: first, to acquire property, the economic basis of freedom; and second, to educate her child, Carrie, the cultural exemplification of the race's new place in American society.

The home which Martha purchased was converted after her death into a house of ill-fame, and Carrie, the product of an ante-bellum union, acquired only the rudiments of an education. Carrie grew up to marry a young farmer with whom she moved to his home on the Eastern Shore, there to become the mother of three children and later the mistress of a sinister-eyed, hardworking oyster shucker at whose hands she met death.

For her children, Carrie yearned for the education which was denied her. In this, too, she was thwarted. Her husband, not believing in "book education," kept their son on the farm where he died at an early age. Their daughter Blanche was recalled from the Institute by the death of the mother. There remained the second Martha, Carrie's baby.

What Martha failed to learn in school, she learned in life. Talented as a singer and dancer, she became a successful entertainer, acquired a certain sophistication, lived high in Harlem and died suddenly of pneumonia. But not until she had seen her illegitimate son, Jimmy-Lew, star athlete and good student, matriculated in college.

After his graduation, Jimmy-Lew, fired with an ambition "to save the race," returned to the Eastern Shore as a school teacher. He loved these low grounds as had his grandfather, Carrie's husband. He wanted to do something for his people there, but found them only half responsive. And finally, like his grandfather, he was thwarted in an attempt to arouse his Negro neighbors in an effort to halt a lynching. Despairing then, he was all but ready to give up his dreams, but for the pleas of a fellow teacher, his childhood sweetheart. His reaction to her plea saves the book from ending on a note of complete defeatism.

(*Continued on next page*)

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—Henry Lee Moon

Greuning and Grimke

(An Editorial)

WITHIN the past few weeks colored people and Americans generally have lost two valued citizens in Martha Greuning and the Rev. Dr. Francis J. Grimke. Miss Greuning was one of the earliest workers for the NAACP, in the days when identity with this association endangered the lives of the workers for it. She solicited funds for the infant national office, made dangerous investigations of lynchings, assisted The Crisis, and wrote and spoke for the association and the rights of the Negro. Her tireless efforts were typical of the sacrifices of the white people who helped found the NAACP.

Dr. Grimke was a scholar and a gentleman, an upright preacher of the gospel who never forsook his calling and never compromised with evil. He was one of the first graduates of Lincoln university and yet his feeling about the equality of men was so strong that he never set foot upon the campus of his alma mater after commencement because it persisted in keeping its board of trustees lily-white. The policy was changed a few years ago and Dr. Grimke had planned to return to Lincoln, but death interfered. Throughout his life he was a staunch worker for the NAACP and gave his counsel and guidance both to the branch in the District of Columbia and to the national office in New York. He was a frequent and valued contributor to The Crisis.

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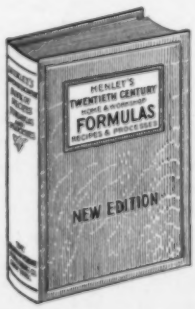

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Snobbery

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navy; they have not given Henson a door-keeper's job or a pauper's pension. The other day they dedicated a monument to Peary, and beside Peary they put a bronze statue of one of his sledge dogs, as if the dog had more to do with the successful outcome than had Henson. Henson sat in the crowd and looked upon the statue of his friend, the newspapers of chauvinistic America actually mentioned the presence of "Peary's Negro servant". Of such also is one Benjamin Stolberg, Equalitarian in profession and theory, but Jingo and Snob at heart.

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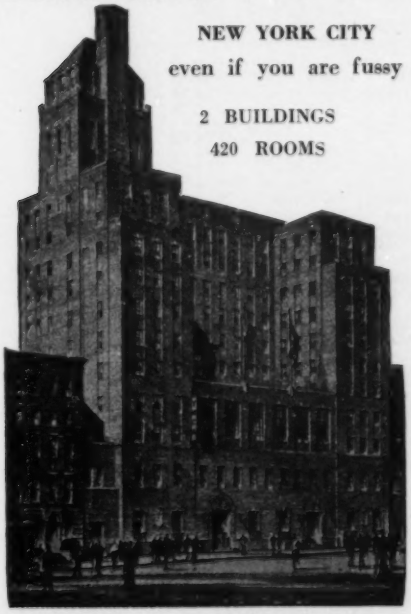

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